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# A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA FOR SCHOOLS


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*Latin America, Its Place in World Life*

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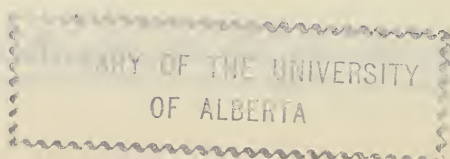
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## PREFACE

*The two Americas, North and South, have waited for more than a century the dawn of the day when the peoples of the New World might develop closer relations and a deeper understanding of one another. That time, so long delayed, has now arrived, bringing with it the realization of what this new understanding may signify in the creation of the world of tomorrow. The development of harmonious inter-American relations will mean the strengthening of world-wide friendship and good will. Because of these facts the study of Latin-American history and culture can contribute much to continental and world understanding.*

*In this book, A History of Latin America for Schools, the authors have made an effort to guide you along four different routes. In Part I, "Preview to a Continent," you are introduced to the people of Latin America and to their land. Here the authors have endeavored to answer the questions: What kind of people are the Latin Americans? In what ways do they resemble and in what ways are they different from the people of the United States? In what kind of land do they live? What means of transportation have they developed? What are they doing about their social problems?*

*Part II, "The Background of a Continent," approaches the subject from the standpoint of history. It makes an effort to answer the questions: Who were the original Americans? What have the Hispanic settlers done since they started living on this continent? How did they establish independent republics? By what means did they achieve democracy at home and resist conquest from abroad? How do their past experiences explain present problems?*

*In Part III, "The International Life of a Continent," the authors describe the trade and cultural relations which the twenty Southern republics have with one another, with their big Northern neighbor, and with the rest of the world? It indicates what contribution they may be expected to make in the building of a world government.*

*Part IV, "The Expression of a Continent," tells something about the thought life of the Latin Americans as manifested in the artistic forms of*

*the people from early times down to the present. Here an attempt is made to answer the questions: What kind of writers do they have? What kind of pictures do they paint? What can we learn about the culture of the other Americans from a study of their music, their buildings, and their intellectual life?*

*The authors believe that the study of Latin-American history and culture will bring you a new appreciation of our neighbors and a desire to develop further the mutual understanding between the Americas.*

S. G. I.

C. E. C.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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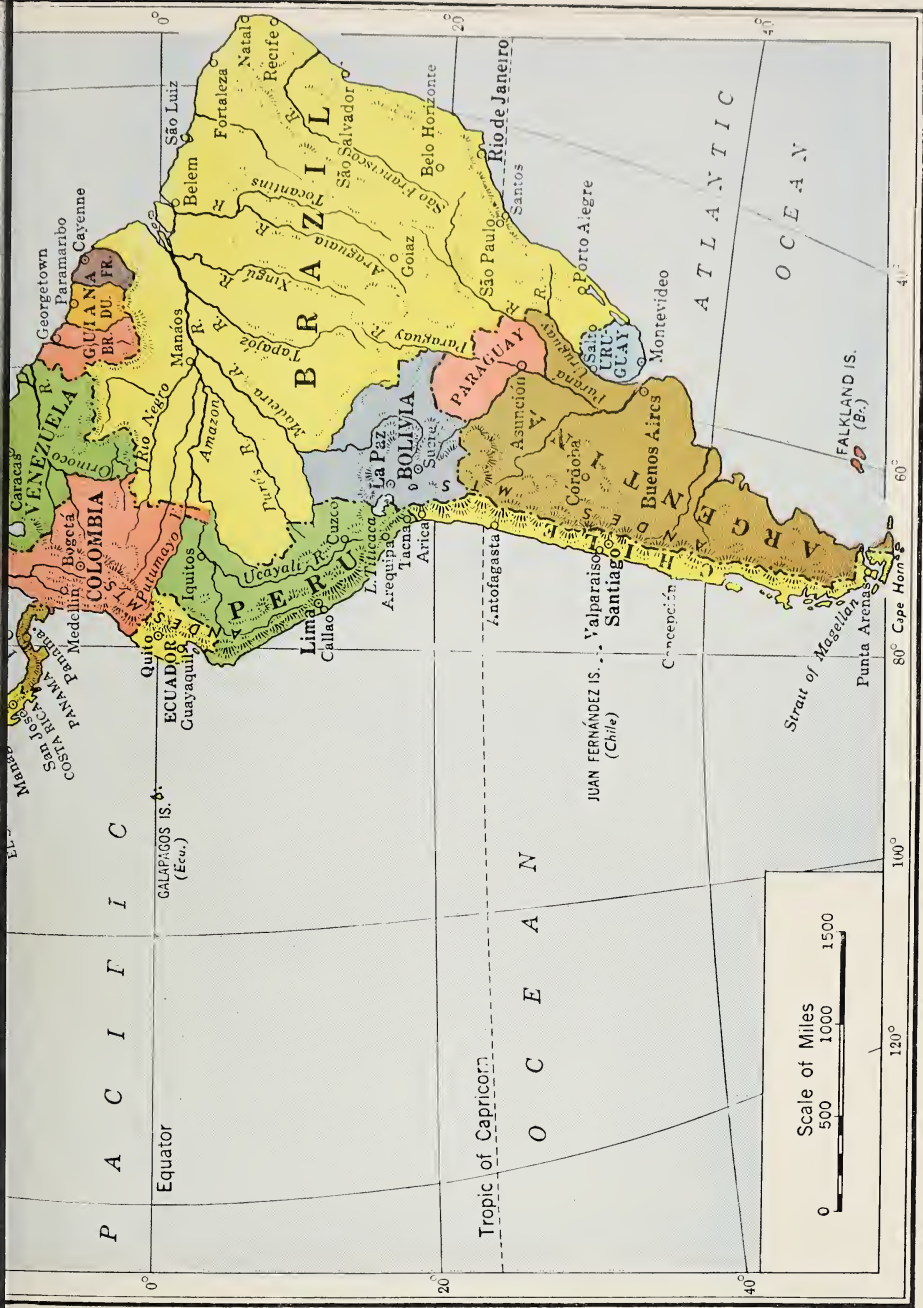
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North and South America Today





PART I

*Preview of a Continent*



## PREVIEW OF A CONTINENT

*The American Continent—North, Central, South—represents the New World. Here are new lands, new concepts of government, new social organization, new spiritual ideals. Generally speaking, the continent is peopled by two large groups. One has the Anglo-Saxon, the other the Latin approach to life. But all are Americans. They are moved by the same desire to rid themselves of Old World limitations and to build here a new civilization.*

*On visiting Latin America, a North American finds the people astir with new life. He meets visitors from all parts of the world. He is amazed at the great pulsating cities, at the modern newspapers, and at the wide-awake leaders of thought. The three fundamental racial types are Indian, Hispanic, and African. Mixing with these are modern immigrants from Italy, Germany, Russia, Japan, and other nations. They are all melting together to produce a cosmopolitan people with few of the racial prejudices noticed in the North.*

*No less impressive than the people are the outstanding geographical features. Here are the rich, fertile tropics of the Caribbean, the snow-capped peaks of the Andes, the productive basin of the Rio de la Plata, and the enormous undeveloped valley of the Amazon. The peculiar contributions which all of these regions can make to world life is indicative of a great future. Backward transportation is giving way to the Pan-American Highway and the ever-increasing net of airways. The struggle of a newly developing middle class is seen in the greater degree of industrialization, in the improvement of the conditions of labor, and in the drive to educate the children of all classes of society.*

## *I. WHY STUDY LATIN AMERICA?*

The way of life we knew before the second World War has been annihilated. It will never again exist. We should study Latin America in order to help build a better world. The racial hatreds, economic rivalries, and cruel dictatorships of Europe and Asia continue to bring discord. The New World must now assume the leadership. The United States and Canada, in the temperate zone, with their organizational ability, need Latin America, with its tropical riches and its racial friendliness and idealism. The day that Singapore fell to Japan, Latin America sprang into first place for America as a producer of rubber, tin, spices, quinine, and vegetable oils, as it had already occupied first place in the furnishing of coffee, sugar, bananas, and other tropical products. Latin America has the largest area of rich, sparsely settled land in the world. It has great cities, famous international leaders, and outstanding educational institutions. Every one of the twenty countries is a republic. Its people enthusiastically face the future and are committed to a democratic fellowship of all nations. Latin America is destined to occupy an important place in world life. In their Southern neighbors the young people of the United States will find strong allies in building a new world order.

**World Interest in Latin America.** We should study these twenty Latin-American republics because the whole world is interested in them. During the last few years the countries of Europe, Asia, and North America have suddenly awakened to the enormous possibilities of these lands. The first public act of President Herbert Hoover, after he was elected in 1928, was to make a good-will tour to Latin America. In his first inaugural address President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced that the United States was going to begin a new policy toward our Southern neighbors. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who took office at the same time, said that his two great objectives would be to enlarge world trade and to improve relations with the other American republics. In 1937 the United States Senate approved the first treaty in our history authorizing the Federal Government to pay the expenses of young people to study in a foreign land, designating the Southern republics as the countries to receive our students.

Germany began to give special attention to Latin America even earlier. She organized the Ibero-American Institute in Berlin, where the young men of the Fatherland were trained in the history, language, and culture of the Southern republics. After Hit-

ler came to power, Latin-American students were given free scholarships in Germany, radio programs in correct Spanish and Portuguese were provided, and German diplomats enlarged programs for making friends with Latin Americans.

Following the first World War Russia sent representatives of the Communist party to Latin America. About 1930 Japan started a trade drive and enlarged her steamship service. When Mussolini started his program to restore Rome to its ancient grandeur, he sent his representatives to South America to organize a "Latin League." France enlarged her long-standing cultural program, contributing to the University of São Paulo alone a million francs for its library. In 1941 Canada sent her first ministers to Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. A visitor to the attractive, growing cities of Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Habana in the last few years was astonished to find there so many trade missions, university lecturers, scientists, writers, and government leaders from all over the world. A part of the world which every other country is finding so important must certainly prove interesting to the young people of the United States.

**Latin America, an Older Civilization.** We should study Latin America because it is the older partner in the civilization of America. One hundred years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Cortés and his men marched from Veracruz to conquer the Aztec Empire. It was less than two decades later, in 1539, that the first printing press was set up in Mexico City. This was nearly a century before

the printing press was introduced into the English colonies. The first Christian church in America was begun in Santo Domingo in 1503. There are a great many towns and cities in Latin America older than Saint Augustine, Florida, the oldest city in the United States. The fact is that before the English had built a single home in North America, there were 200,000 Spaniards residing in America. It will help us to appreciate the greatness of the American continent to know that the Spanish and Portuguese built so well in these early times that today about half of the American continent uses the Spanish or Portuguese language and has a Latin culture. Once founded, the United States developed faster than its Southern neighbors. But Latin Americans have an older and in some ways a more brilliant intellectual life than we Northerners have.

**Parallels in the History of the Americas.** The study of Latin-American history will help us to understand the history of our own country. There are many similarities in the development of the Americas. All the Americas, North, Central, and South, were colonized by Europeans. All the Americas were ruled by European governments for long periods of time. All these colonies revolted and won their freedom. All but one immediately set up republics. All have similarly struggled toward democracy. Some of the political and social problems met by all are: a strong central government as against states' rights; the power of the president versus the power of congress; the independence of the courts from the executive; the prob-



em of slavery; government control over legislation; tariffs; immigration; the cultural attitude toward Europe; and the development of public education.

The results, however, have not always been the same for the different republics. This brings up certain questions. Why has the United States increased its territory and Latin America lost territory? Why has the United States had only one civil war, while the Southern republics have had many revolutions? Why has the United States developed industrially so much earlier than Latin America? Why did leaders like Bolívar free their slaves and leaders like Washington retain theirs? Why has Brazil such democratic race relations and so little political democracy, while the United States has political democracy and much racial discrimination? Why have some republics separated Church and state, while others have not?

We can throw much light on different periods of United States history by comparing and contrasting them with events in Latin America. Consider, for example, the following problems: the differences between the English and the Spanish colonists, and between the English and the Spanish colonial systems; the characters of the great leaders in the movement for independence in the United States and in Latin America; the work of George Washington and of Simón Bolívar; conditions in the various republics in the crucial decade from 1860 to 1870, under the leadership of Lincoln in the United States, Juárez in Mexico, Mitre in Argentina, and Dom Pedro II in Brazil; the dominance of an agricul-

tural economy in Latin America and of an industrial economy in the United States; the effect of the Nazi propaganda activities in the United States and in the Latin republics. Some historians have long claimed that it would be better to study the history of the Americas as a whole rather than to separate it into the history of the twenty-one republics.

**Common Problems of Democracy in the Americas.** The study of Latin America will aid us in understanding the problems facing democracy. To-day the whole world is studying anew the real significance of the democratic way of life. In their beginning all the Southern republics largely copied the Constitution of the United States. Although they have not been able to develop a political democracy similar to ours, they do not admit that their institutions are always less democratic than those of the United States. Brazil believes she has more racial democracy; Uruguay that she has greater democracy in her education and in her labor laws; and Mexico that she treats her Indians more democratically. A study of the struggles made by the nations of Latin America to achieve democracy will help our understanding of the world problems facing this form of government.

The study of Latin America brings up the question of racial relations. Three definite racial tendencies are clearly discernible. For example, Argentina is preponderantly white, Mexico is basically Indian, and Brazil is mixed. Brazil is committed to a policy of developing all races into a unified Brazilian people. In Argentina the whites have definitely assumed a domi-

nance which they are likely to maintain. Uruguay, Chile, and Costa Rica may also be counted as republics in which the white man has control. But in other countries, the largest of which is Mexico, the whites have decreased as the Indians have increased. In fact, Mexico as a whole has lately become conscious of its Indian origins and a revaluation of Western civilization in terms of the Indian is in progress, the results of which promise to be interesting.

**The Latin-American Attitude toward Life.** A study of Latin America will help us to enjoy life. That may sound strange. But any citizen of the United States who has lived among our Southern neighbors knows that he has learned how to live more leisurely and graciously. He has learned to worry less about doing everything today, leaving a few things to be done tomorrow. Businessmen learn that they can accomplish almost as much with less aggressiveness and more courtesy to customers. In Latin America parents and children take more time with each other, and family life is of first importance. In these Southern countries, where almost everybody likes poetry and almost every young person writes it, beauty and sentiment are more important than the driving "go-getter" attitude so much emphasized in the United States. A real understanding of our Southern friends will show us many new ways of enjoying life.

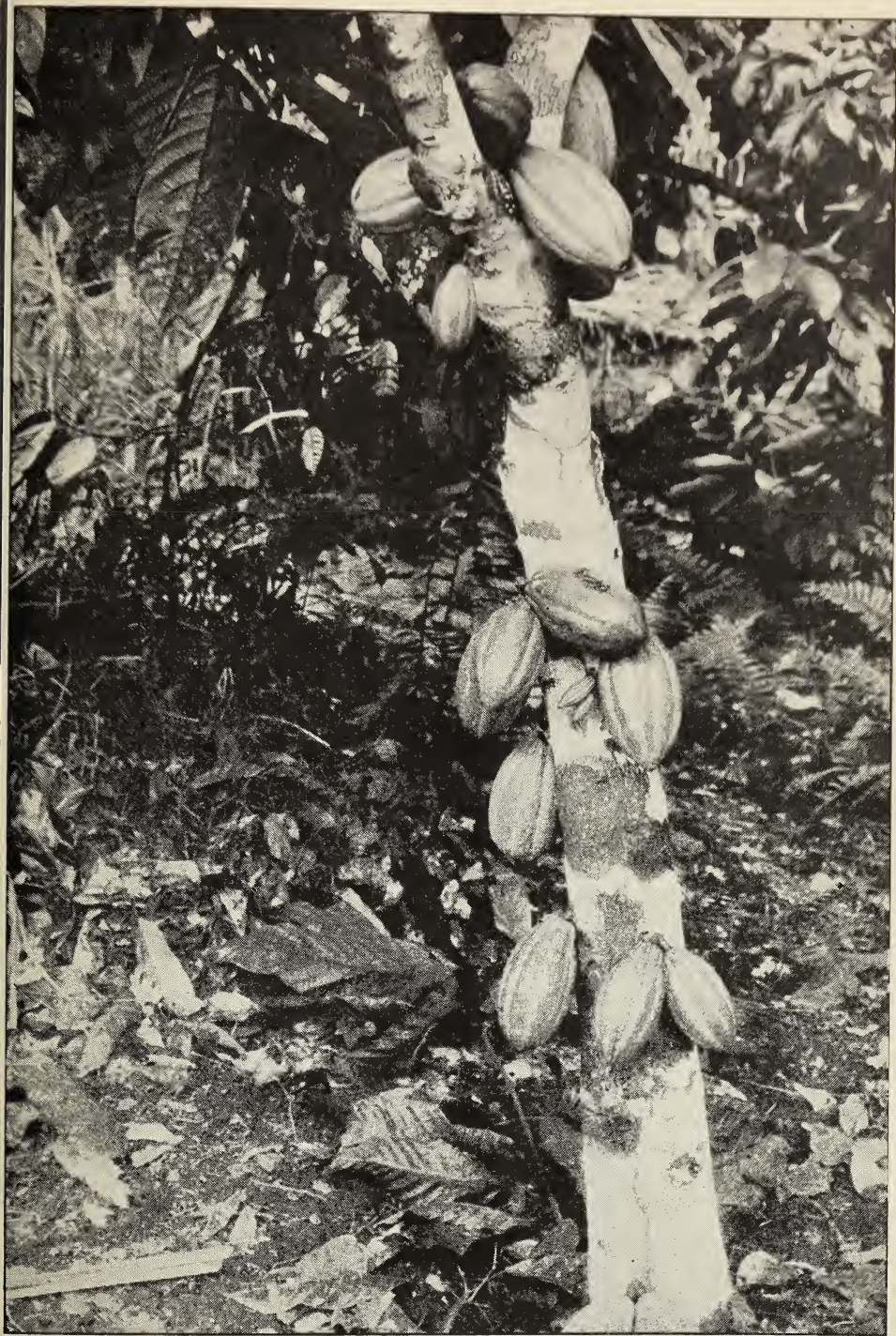
**Abundance of Raw Materials.** The United States needs Latin America. From an economic standpoint we need her raw materials. We are continually using things imported from the other Americas: food—coffee, sugar, bananas,

cacao (cocoa); metals—tin, copper, aluminum, manganese, chromium, and others that keep our industries going; products from their farms and ranches—hides, wool, balsa wood, and vegetable oils. The United States could not keep up its industrial life without getting from Latin America the many raw materials which are used by our factories, our schools, and our homes. On the other hand, we need the Latin-American markets. Before the second World War we sold to Latin America about \$500,000,000 worth of goods a year. After this war, with Europe and Asia economically impoverished, our greatest business opportunities will be found in Latin America.

**Latin-American Art.** We need the spiritual contributions which Latin America can give us. How many Americans have listened with pleasure to the music of Brazil, or have been stirred by the paintings of Diego Rivera, the Mexican artist! How many have enjoyed Ricardo Güiraldes's story of the Argentine pampa, or the beautiful poems of the Chilean, Gabriela Mistral! Works of artists such as these can add inspiration and enrichment to our lives.

**Need for Co-operation.** We should try to know better our Southern neighbors. We want to preserve our own democratic government and to do away with war in the world. We cannot enforce the Monroe Doctrine, which aims to keep foreign enemies of democracy out of this continent, without the friendship and help of the other American governments. The second World War has shown that but for Pan-American (All-American) co-operation, the Axis Powers could have built air bases at our back door and





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

Practically every product known to man is raised in Latin America. One of the most popular of these is cacao, which is cultivated extensively in Central America and Brazil.



destroyed us. If we understand Latin America well, we can build such strong ties that the New World will be able to lead the other continents into a new international organization for peace, for international trade, and for co-operation in making a happier world.

#### WHAT IS IN A NAME?

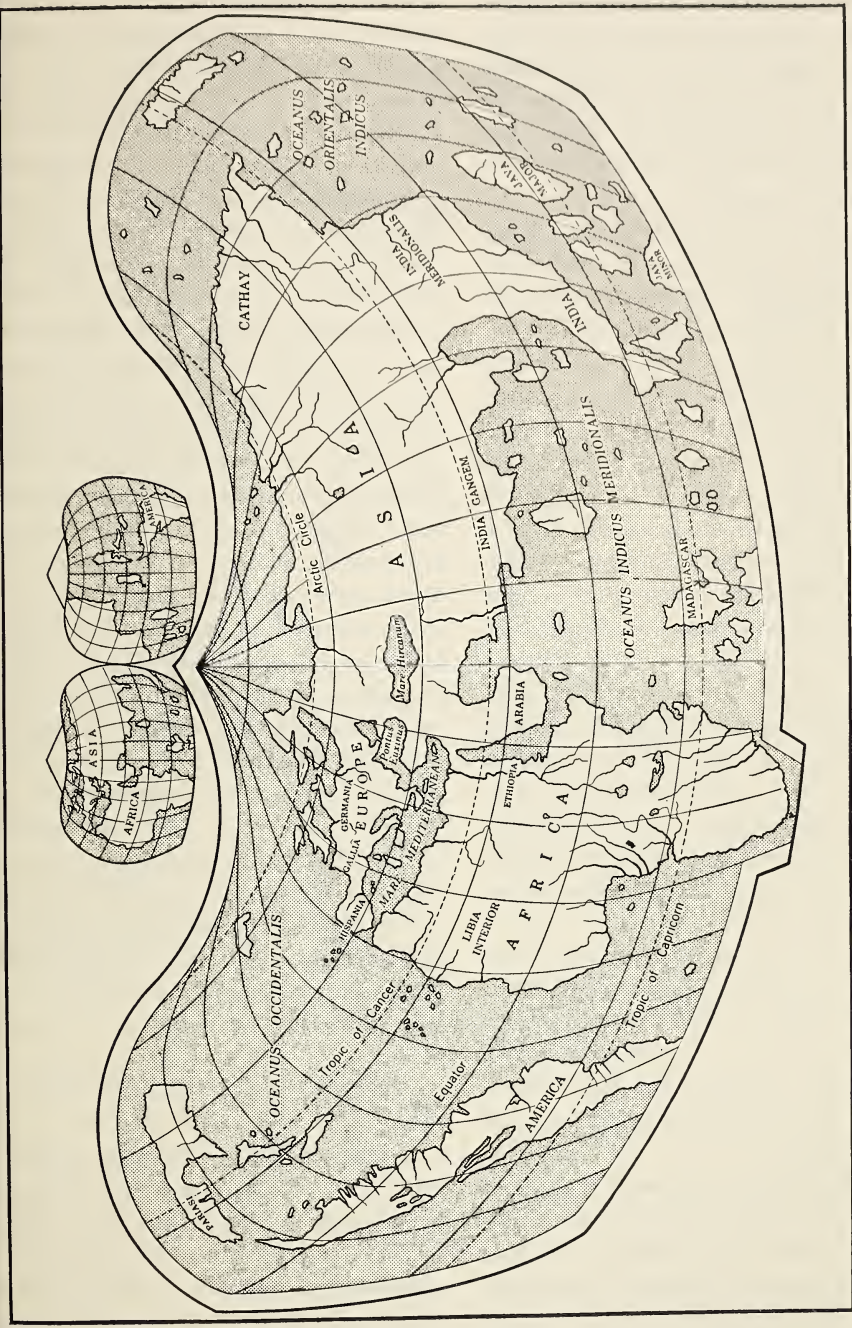
Are you one of the persons who has a name he does not like or which it is difficult for others to use correctly? If so, you will sympathize with the many difficulties we have in finding acceptable names for the people who live in the New World. You will realize also that a person may be called by different names by different people. At the very beginning of our study we must understand clearly the use of terms.

**Latin America Defined.** *Latin America* is a general term applied to the twenty independent republics of the New World whose language and culture have come from the Latin peoples of Spain, Portugal, and France. These twenty countries, along with the United States of America, make up the twenty-one independent nations that have united to form the Pan American Union. It is to be noted that this union does not include the possessions of Great Britain, France, and Holland on the American continent. Eighteen of these republics speak Spanish. One, Brazil, speaks Portuguese, and another, Haiti, speaks French, following the mother countries that colonized them. The term *Latin America* is not altogether satisfactory. Those who emphasize the dominant influence of the Iberian Peninsula prefer *Ibero-America* or

*Hispanic America*. Those who emphasize the dominance of the Indian population would use the term *Indo-America*. Strongly nationalistic citizens of countries like Argentina often object to the use of any common terminology to designate all these countries. They fear that outsiders will group them all together as a unit, whereas each country has its own distinct and peculiar life. However, some generic name is necessary and proper to designate this section of the world. While it differs within itself, it has, in the aggregate, a common colonial history, a common movement for independence, a common republican form of government, a common religion. It might almost be said to have a common psychology and a common language, since those speaking Spanish and Portuguese can understand each other. Practically, the term *Latin America* is gradually coming to be universally used. For the sake of variety, we will sometimes use the terms Southerners and Northerners to designate Latin Americans and Anglo-Saxon Americans, respectively, in the course of our narrative.

The whole question of names related to America is a comedy—or tragedy—of errors. The continent might rightly have been named after Columbus. But no one knew what to call it when it was thought to be a part of India.

The term *America* was first applied to South America and the Caribbean area. The travel letters written by Amerigo Vespucci—near rivals to the exaggerations of *Gulliver's Travels*—so vividly described his voyages to South America that a geography published by the German Waldseemüller



This is the famous Waldseemüller map, published in 1507, in which the New World was first called America. Note the small extent of America as then known.



in 1507 set the style by calling the New World "America." Not until one hundred years later was the first permanent settlement made in the North at Jamestown, Virginia. Still later the geographers invented the three divisions of the continent, North, Central, and South America.

As time went on, the United States of America was organized. The name was a long one, so we dropped the first part of it and called ourselves simply *Americans*. The other Americans naturally objected to this, since they had the name centuries before we adopted it. The Latin Americans generally refer to people of the United States as North Americans. This is not a wholly satisfactory term, but it is the one ordinarily used in this book to designate citizens of the United States.

And what about the Indians? They have just as much right to complain as anyone else. They do not belong to India and never did. Because of Columbus's mistake, the Mayas, the Incas, and all other original Americans have had the general name of Indians fixed on them.

As we begin our study of Latin America we should understand that the European colonies, like Jamaica and the Guianas, are not included in our study of Latin America, nor is Puerto Rico, which is a part of the United States.

We should also take note of the fact that South America and Latin America are not to be used as identical terms. Ten republics only out of the twenty lie in South America. The rest are near neighbors to the United States. Yet well-known writers have recently based important conclusions

on statistics drawn only from South America, when they were arguing about Latin America as a whole. Other novices have fallen into the grave error of thinking that the United States and Latin America have a rival economy. They are confusing Argentina with the whole of Latin America. Amateurs who suddenly discover that the "bulge" of Brazil is much farther east than is New York or Miami jump to the conclusion that Latin America is closer to Europe than to the United States. That this assumption is not true may be readily seen when we consider that the actual distance from Rio de Janeiro around the "bulge" to New York is only 4,748 miles, whereas to Liverpool it is 5,158 miles, and to Hamburg it is 5,518 miles. The ten northern republics have all been more closely allied in transportation, in trade, and in cultural relations with the United States than with Europe. Until very recently, some of the ten southernmost republics have been more intimately connected with Europe than with us. The first World War (1914-1918) started a closer relationship with the United States; and the second World War, which began in 1939, is accelerating that movement.

#### LATIN AMERICA COMMANDS THE WORLD'S ATTENTION

**Extent of Latin America.** Beginning at the Rio Grande and stretching south over Mexico, down through the five countries of Central America and the three republics of the West Indies, across Panama, through Colombia, Venezuela, and the enormous land of Brazil, over the high plateaus of the four Andean countries and across the

abounding plains of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina, down to the Strait of Magellan, lies Latin America. These twenty countries—each flying the flag of a republic, all young and enthusiastic—have their golden age before them, not behind them as it is in the Old World. It may be expected that, as the most remarkable development of the nineteenth century took place in North America, the most wonderful developments of the twentieth century may take place in Latin America. Latin America has four outstanding assets which make such a development possible. First, there is room for the overcrowded populations of the world. Second, there is power to produce the food and raw materials necessary for the needs of the world. Third, those lands furnish a market place for the manufactured goods of the world. Fourth, they possess a remarkable group of intellectuals, capable of leading their countries into an important place among modern nations.

The very size of these lands is impressive. The overcrowded populations of the Orient and of Europe will, without question, seek the great, fertile fields and friendly climates of these Latin-American countries. Latin America is four times the size of Europe, including Russia. One single state in mighty Brazil equals the area of Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. If Argentina were as densely populated as is the State of New York (and much of its territory could support a dense population), it would have 225,000,000 people instead of its present population of 13,000,000. Venezuela is not considered one of the largest repub-

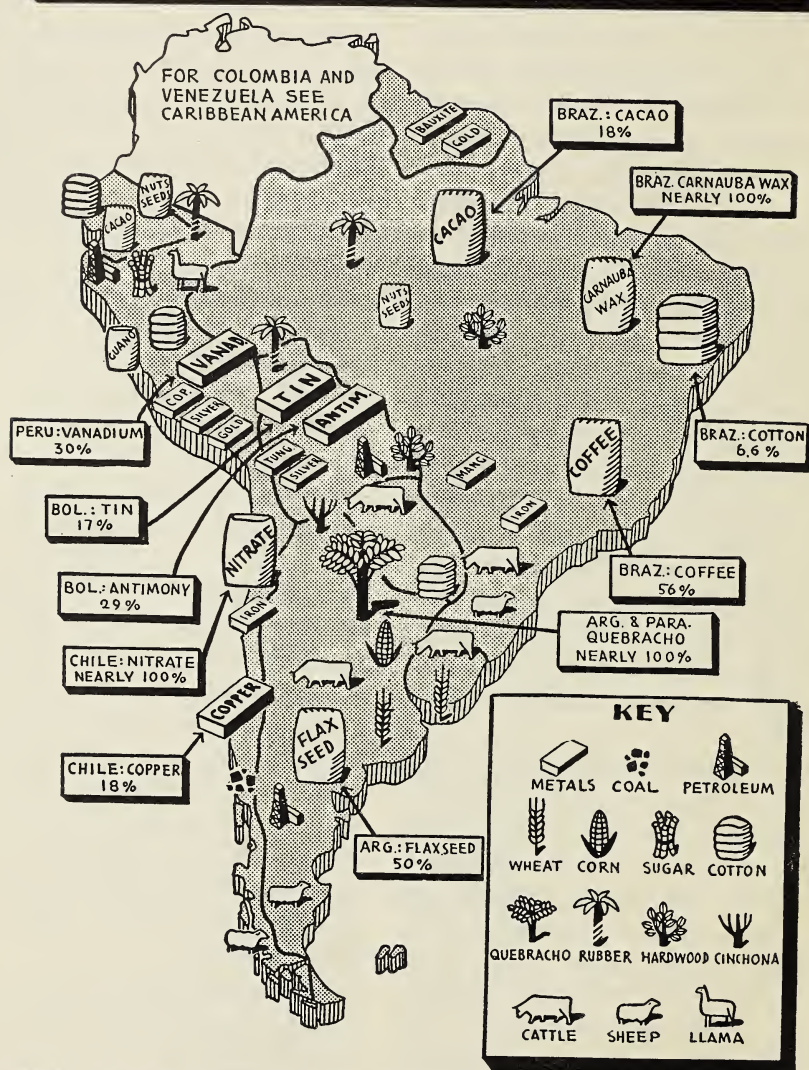
lics, but it has three times as much territory as Japan, while Japan has a population nearly equal to that of all South America. Arguments might have been advanced in the old days against the dense population of these lands because they were tropical, but modern science is overcoming the difficulties of the tropics. The island of Hispaniola is said to be capable of sustaining as dense a population as any other territory of similar size in the world.

#### **Natural Resources of the Americas.**

The great natural wealth of the Americas has hardly been touched. If necessary the Western Hemisphere could be made entirely self-sufficient. Let your mind sweep over the map. Canada is an enormous country, larger than the United States. There is room enough there for 50,000,000 people. The present population is only 12,000,000. Look at the United States, far ahead of the other Americas in its economic development, its factories, its railroads, its large farm acreage, its high standard of living, its widespread educational opportunities. It has grown up and is ready to exchange its manufactured goods for the raw materials of its neighbors, and to help them on their way to their own industrialization.

Now look at Latin America. Across the Rio Grande lies Mexico, a nation of varied mineral and agricultural resources. Below lie the six small Central American republics, rich in mahogany, bananas, and coffee. In the Caribbean are three island republics. Cuba is "the sugar bowl of the world." Haiti and the Dominican Republic have been noted for their riches ever since Columbus sent his first travel

# THE RICHES OF SOUTH AMERICA



LARGER SYMBOLS SHOW MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCTS WITH PERCENTAGES OF WORLD PRODUCTION

From Foreign Policy Association, Headline Book No. 27



letter to Ferdinand and Isabella, describing them as second only to the Garden of Eden.

The great continent of South America contains ten republics. Venezuela, on the Caribbean coast, is third among the nations of the world in the production of petroleum. Colombia, in addition to its enormous treasures of precious metals and oil, can contribute high-grade coffee, bananas, and tropical woods. Ecuador produces much cacao and vegetable ivory. Countries like Peru, Bolivia, and Chile have little agricultural land. But they have great stores of minerals in their mountains that can help supply the needs of the factories of the United States. The American continent now produces 78 per cent of the copper and silver, and 77 per cent of the petroleum of the world. Argentina produces sugar and cotton in the north, wheat and cattle in the central zone, and petroleum, mutton, wool, and minerals in the south. On Uruguay's great plains roam cattle which can produce enough meat and dairy products to care for an enormous population. To the north lies Brazil, with its great possibilities in metals, tropical fruits, and cattle raising scarcely touched.

The specialties of each individual country are well known: Brazilian coffee and rubber, Argentine wheat and beef, Chilean nitrate, Bolivian tin, Peruvian copper, Venezuelan oil and asphalt, Colombian platinum and emeralds, Costa Rican bananas, Mexican silver. These are just the beginning of what might be developed. Here lie the sources of supply for the manufactured goods made by the industrial nations. Here are the markets

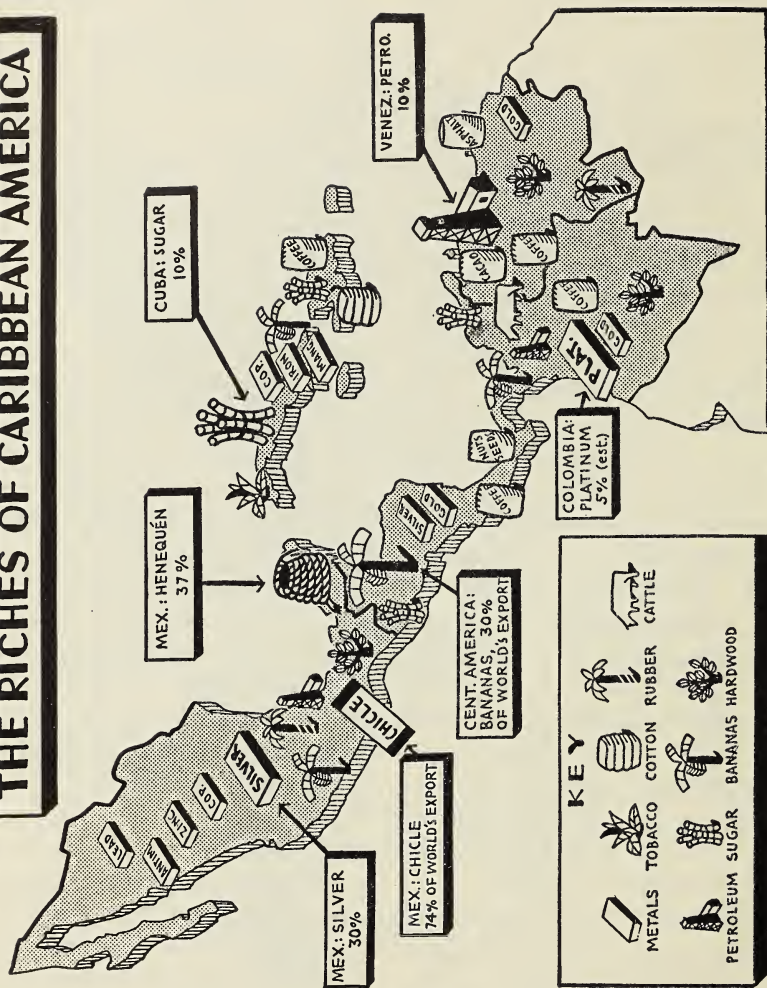
for the manufactured goods of the same nations.

What have the Americas been doing? To what extent have they utilized their opportunities? In the economic field there is still much to be done. In rich countries like Canada and the Argentine, only 11 per cent of the land is now in farms. In Brazil less than 2 per cent of the soil is being cultivated. The Amazon Valley, with approximately 15,000 miles of navigable rivers—more than half the distance around the world—is the richest undeveloped tropical land in the world. In parts of every country in the Americas there are undeveloped areas. Lack of transportation, lack of organization, tropical languidness, the "carry-over" of colonial conditions—all of these have held back economic progress.

**Social and Building Reforms in Latin America.** Latin America is still young in the economic and industrial field. But everywhere there is enthusiasm for building and reform. Cities are being enlarged and beautified. In Rio de Janeiro the people have cut down hills and pushed the land farther out into the sea in order to allow more room for building. They have made new drives, erected new edifices along the gorgeous water front, and cleared off suburban mountainsides for new residential sections. In Buenos Aires a diagonal street has been cut through the downtown section at a cost of millions of dollars, in order to beautify the city. A visitor of ten years ago would hardly recognize Cali in Colombia or São Paulo in Brazil, as these cities appear today. Everywhere there is change. Everywhere there is reform.

Mexicans are so enthusiastic about

# THE RICHES OF CARIBBEAN AMERICA



their revolution, which has been distributing land to the poor and raising the standard of living, that they have erected a great monument on which is inscribed: "To the Revolution—Yesterday, Today, and Forever." Little Uruguay is one of the most advanced nations in the world in its social laws for protecting the common people. Argentina is one of the world's rich and progressive nations. The government of Colombia has recently begun a "New Deal" social program. Venezuela, the only modern country without a debt, recently employed groups of teachers from three foreign lands to speed up its education. Ecuador has welcomed European refugees who have aided in modernizing that nation. Peru has started an expensive road-building program which will enable its people to travel over the Andes down into the Amazon Valley. It has begun its social reform. Brazil has been developing her great West with the same enthusiasm as did the United States in the days of the covered wagon. Paraguay and Bolivia, having finally settled their war over boundaries, have now begun to develop their backward economy. Chile has started a new industrial and social program.

Such evidences of youth and potential power have attracted the attention of the world. Every commercial, political, racial, cultural, and religious group in the world has been sending representatives to propagate its ideas in Latin America. Arrivals of trade missions from all the industrial nations are continually announced in the southern papers. The latest and most attractive literature from France, Germany, Russia, and even the United

States is seen on the inviting book tables of all Southern cities. German racism, Italian nationalism, and Russian communism have each developed highly effective propaganda agencies for spreading their doctrines. Great Britain from the commercial and France from the cultural side have been exerting every effort for many years. Japan had been leading an Asiatic movement toward the south. Even in the remote city of Asunción, in Paraguay, a Japanese-Paraguayan Cultural Association had been organized.

The United States, after long neglect, has been developing an active program for promoting friendship with the Southern countries. This program must be comprehensive enough to make up for past neglect—to make up for the time when we assumed that we ourselves were "America" and largely ignored the existence of our Latin-American neighbors, who are "America" too.

#### WHO ARE THE LATIN AMERICANS?

In the nations of Latin America and in the United States, in all the twenty-one countries of the Pan American Union, the people have their various nationalities, but they are first of all Americans. They are united in loyalty to the New World and its ideals of liberty and freedom for all. In order to understand citizens of the United States and citizens of Central and South American nations, this is the first principle to keep in mind. The second principle to keep in mind is that there are several kinds of Americans. As several individuals may be alike in certain ways of living, yet differ in others, so the various Ameri-



can people have similarities and differences.

There is always a difference between people who live in cold and in warm climates. In the United States people who live in the South are noted for taking life easy, for enjoying leisure, and for extending hospitality to others. Citizens of the Northern states find that the cold climate encourages them to move rapidly and to work hard; thus they have less time for social life than their Southern neighbors do. The differences between Northerners and Southerners in the United States, however, are not nearly so great as are the differences between the people of the United States and those of Latin America. These are so much more fundamental because they are due not only to climate, but also to race. In Latin America, as in North America, the original stock was Indian. However, owing to the number of Indians in Latin America in proportion to the white conquerors and settlers, and owing to the way in which the two races intermarried there, the Indian is a basic factor in the population of Latin America as he is not in North America today.

All the people who live in the United States are not Anglo-Saxons. However, our laws, customs, language, school systems, even our games, are Anglo-Saxon. When Italians, Russians, Swedes, Chinese, and others come to live in our country, they learn to see life from the Anglo-Saxon viewpoint. In recent decades many people from foreign countries have gone to live in the Southern republics. But the Spaniards and Portuguese, who are Latins and who first came there centuries ago, so stamped their per-

sonalities and their views of life on Latin America that all the people there are classed as Latin Americans.

### **The Latin-American Way of Life.**

As soon as the North American (the name Latin Americans use for citizens of the United States) crosses the Rio Grande into Mexico, he notices a difference in the way the houses are built, in the way the parks are laid out, and in the customs of the people. Instead of having yards in front of their homes where the public can see them, Mexicans build their houses next to the sidewalk and have their gardens, called *patios*, within the houses where they can be enjoyed in privacy. From Mexico to Argentina the North American finds that the schools do not stress sports and exercise as ours do, and that high-school boys are frequently more interested in politics and poetry than in the gymnasium.

The old Spanish idea of centering much of the social life of the city or village around the central square or plaza often continues. Friends may sit in the plaza and converse even during what the Northerner would term "business hours." During the evening the band plays, and everyone strolls around and around the plaza. Usually the men go in one direction and the women in another. All appear to have a most delightful time. The idea that women must be chaperoned continues, except in the largest cities, where the foreign influence is gradually breaking down the custom. Courtship is discreetly conducted at first, with the girl behind a barred window and the young man "playing the bear," as he walks back and forth in front of her home,



*Photo from Frederic Lewis*

There are many large, landed estates, called haciendas, in Latin America, where the owners live delightfully and furnish lavish entertainment for their guests. Some of the haciendas are of vast size, especially in Mexico and Chile. The hacienda represents more than ownership of land. It is a way of living produced by a form of feudal society in the New World.



dropping a word as he passes. Later, watchful parents may admit him to the house, but with the inevitable chaperone present almost up to the day of marriage.

Family life is greatly emphasized, the tendency being to conserve the old-fashioned patriarchal idea. The father is highly honored as the head of a large family, including cousins, grandchildren, uncles and aunts, and the ever-present guests. This contributes to a strong and attractive social organization, although it limits initiative. Children grow into maturity very quickly. They spend much time with their elders, and they often enjoy that more than they do play. Even young high-school students like to read serious authors like Emerson, Tolstoy, and Victor Hugo. Many young people try their hand at writing poetry.

Courtesy and friendship, love of beauty, and love of children are attractive qualities in the Latin American. He is seldom in a hurry. A chance stop on the country road to inquire the way is likely to bring you an invitation for a visit. After that the host may insist that he ride ahead with you to be sure that you take the right turn at the next fork of the road. Conversation he loves—but not so much about practical questions, or the news, or the weather. He likes rather to theorize, to discuss why life is the way it is, and how it would be if it were different. So the matter-of-fact North American, always looking for practical ways of solving pressing problems, finds himself charmed with the delightful philosophy of life and poetry in the conversation of a Latin American.

When the North American tourist returns from the South, he shows pictures he has taken and relates his experiences. He describes huge ranches, called haciendas, rodeos, crowded, dirty tenements, beautiful churches, magnificent government palaces, colorful street markets, and gay dancers. Often the tourist who has observed these things has not yet become friendly enough with the people or known them long enough to be able to understand them. He has not looked into the hearts and minds of the Latin Americans. Therefore, he cannot tell us about their character.

Description of a Latin American as a man who likes bullfights, poetry, and fiestas (feast days) is not enough for one who wants to know how people, influenced in their way of life by Spain and Portugal, differ from those who are set in an Anglo-Saxon pattern. When we go below the surface, we find that the Latin American's fundamental characteristics include dignity, formality, sensitiveness, courtesy, brilliancy, and a high degree of idealism.

Many of the customs and attitudes found among the Latin Americans come from their individualism. They emphasize the importance of the individual rather than that of the community. Games in the United States stress teamwork. Most of the games in the Southern republics stress individual play. North Americans, on the other hand, are group minded; they usually submerge themselves in organizations where they strive for the good of the group. Latin Americans dislike organizations and often refuse to belong to them, even when membership might bring more business



and the improvement of government.

Individualism is the foundation on which the Latin American builds his life. Because of it, he has great self-respect, which is expressed in his dignity. Dignity is more than an assumed mannerism. To him the term "mi dignidad" is the statement of his individual worth, of his rights as a person. Upon his dignity he wants no one to impose. With the Spaniard he says, "Underneath my cloak, I am a king."

The Latin American insists upon others respecting him as much as he respects himself. A workman may prefer low wages with considerate treatment, to high wages with insults. The most wretched beggar expects charity to be accompanied by a proper attitude toward him as a man.

When one plans a trip to countries south of the United States, he should remember that courtesy is the key to practically every door from the Rio Grande to the Strait of Magellan. To a friendly smile and a warm hand-clasp, one will find the Latins enthusiastically responsive. They will show their liking for a person by taking time from their work to talk, and to explain what he may wish to know about their countries. Courtesy includes a desire to put their friends at ease, so it is leisurely dispensed. Their appointments are secondary to courtesy, for no one would blame another for postponing his activities in order to do a service for a friend.

Young people in Southern America are likely to impress visitors by their brilliancy rather than by their depth. High-school students usually pursue more subjects than do students in the United States, where extracur-

ricular activities make great demands upon time and energy. Moreover, the South American student prefers discussions of social problems to participation in sports.

Latin Americans are not likely to be dominated by a burning desire to make money, so they prefer courses in foreign languages, ancient history, art, poetry, and philosophy to practical subjects. University students may be so absorbed in political matters that they organize for political reforms. A young South American who came to the United States was astonished that more university students in this country do not take the lead in politics. It surprised him to meet students who had not shed blood in a struggle for governmental reform.

Tests have been given which prove that Mexican children learn theoretical subjects, such as sociology, more quickly than do North American children. Exchange students who are coming to the United States in increasing numbers show their native brilliancy by earning good grades even though they do their reading and reciting in English, a language foreign to them.

The intellectual life of the Southern republics is not limited to the university towns or to schools. Small towns in Latin America have groups of intellectuals who discuss not only business but the theories back of it. Their interchange of ideas gives them a broad outlook on the problems of their people. It is pleasant to visit with Latin Americans, for their natural brilliancy and their devotion to learning make it possible for them to talk intelligently on almost any subject.

The North American director of a boys' club in Buenos Aires said that

in Omaha, where he had formerly lived, boys desiring membership would ask about the swimming pool, the gymnasium, dues, and hours. In contrast, the boys of Buenos Aires first wanted to see the constitution of the club. The rules under which the club functioned and the theory of its organization were of prime importance to them.

To see things and to hear facts and figures is not enough for the Latin American. He wants to understand the theory and history behind them. When a famous Mexican educator was advised by his physician to "look into the matter of exercise," the gentleman simply went to the library and began to read books on the subject.

The greatest book in the Spanish language is *Don Quixote*. It describes the struggle between the ideal and the practical. Don Quixote is the typical idealist. His companion, Sancho Panza, is a practical fellow. One, like a knight, rides forth on his gallant steed with the noble resolution of attacking all evils and establishing, in their stead, ideals. The other, on his burro, thinks only of food and lodging and travel problems. Don Quixote is so absorbed in bringing about his ideal that he heeds no words of advice from Sancho. He flings himself upon a windmill that he sees as a giant menacing the countryside. The mill is damaged. He is badly hurt. Undaunted, he is up and on his way again, ready to risk life and limb in other adventures to aid a fellow man.

Many Latin-American Quixotes attack evils without consideration as to whether their efforts will bring economic benefits. In most Latin-American republics, slavery was abolished

by the signing of a decree. This humanitarian act brought financial ruin to many owners of large estates and caused other hardships to the people of the nation concerned until they could adjust their way of living to the change. The leaders of the movement acted to accomplish an ideal, without question as to whether they and their communities would be injured economically. Political leaders and writers in Latin America may languish in jails or go into exile rather than surrender their ideals at the command of the opposition.

Overemphasis on the poetic and the intuitional has, of course, accounted to some extent for the Latin American's lack of success in making money, and in building powerful business corporations and great factories. For this reason, the North American is likely to think that the Latin American is backward. Conversely, the Latin American is likely to call his Northern neighbor a money-chaser. The truth is that one of the finest things about the American continent is that it has these two peoples with such different characteristics. For the Northerner can learn to tone down his brusqueness, his hurry, and his drive for "success" by borrowing some of his neighbor's leisure and meditateness. The Southerner can supplement his charm and poetry by adding a few ingredients taken from the New England conscience, a bit of the efficiency found in a Ford factory, and more of the North's order and respect for property. North American young people could well imitate their Southern neighbors in giving more of their time to study and discussion of political and social questions. Latin-American youth

might profit by more group games like baseball and football, which teach the individual to play for the honor of the team, rather than just for himself, and also to take defeat gracefully rather than to start a revolution.

In developing the All-American team, the people of the Americas should realize that the differences in their national characteristics are no reason for thinking that the people of one nation are superior to those of any of the others. It is, on the other hand, a reason for rejoicing. When, in the building of the continent, we shall have developed the ideal American, he will not be altogether the driving Northerner nor the slower-going Southerner. He will be a combination of the best of each—something of the poet, something of the engineer.

**Successful Emissaries to Latin America.** This combination is not easily achieved. Fortunately, we have some good examples to follow in working out the problem. One is Ambassador Dwight Morrow. When he was selected by President Calvin Coolidge to go to Mexico to see whether he could adjust our differences with that country, he showed us several fundamental ways of approaching the Southerners. Even before he went to Mexico as ambassador, he decided "I am going to like the Mexicans." He also began to study their history in order to understand them better and to learn how he could make the Mexicans like the United States. One of the first things he did when he arrived in Mexico City was to take down the sign "American Embassy" from the house where our ambassador lives. In place of that sign, he put up a neat brass plate on which was engraved

"Embassy of the United States of America." How that pleased the Mexicans! All the people on this continent have just as much right and are just as proud of being called Americans as the people of the United States.

Another one of our diplomats, Elihu Root, pleased the Latin Americans by recognizing their older, more advanced civilization. The occasion for that notable statement was an impressive one. Mr. Root was then Secretary of State. He had noticed that people in the United States and Europe did not appreciate our Southern neighbors. He determined to change this. He decided to do an unheard-of thing for a Secretary of State. He decided to attend an international conference in South America. The announcement of his visit to Rio de Janeiro for the Third Pan-American Conference in 1906 excited all America and Europe. The Brazilians were overjoyed. They prepared a great reception. With bands and flowers and soldiers they met him at the steamer. Through the gaily decorated streets of one of the most beautiful cities in the world they led him to the old royal palace, where he was lavishly entertained.

That night the Secretary was to make the opening speech of the Pan-American Conference. All the continent awaited his word. Would his visit win friends for his country, which South America was criticizing for sending soldiers and battleships to Panama and the Dominican Republic? Or would he increase, by saying the wrong thing, the fear of the powerful Uncle Sam? His opening sentence spoken to that brilliant gathering from all parts of the world led him



right into the hearts of the warm-blooded Latin Americans. "I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sister in the civilization of America." Here was not only a recognition that Latin Americans were "Americans," but also that their civilization was older than that of North America. Our Southern friends, accustomed to our thinking of them as savages and revolutionists, were overwhelmed with delight. They quote that speech even today!

#### CONTINENTAL PATRIOTISM

On a beautiful day in May, 1940, with the sun shining brilliantly on the Washington monument and the palace of the Pan American Union, the Eighth American Scientific Congress opened in Washington. Fifteen hundred teachers, chemists, physicians, and writers had come from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and all the other American republics to talk about law schools, telescopes, tractors, in fact, every kind of scientific machine which might be used to make life happier on this continent. In the midst of the joy of the meeting, there came the tragic news of the ruthless invasion of the Low Countries by the German army. The happy meeting seemed to turn into a funeral. The delegates had lost some of their dearest friends. After they had recovered a bit from the shock, the roll was called of each American republic. Delegates replied by telling what this defeat of democracy in Europe meant to America. It was like the young people of a family rising up to pledge themselves to carry on, now that the parents had fallen.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull said that we must keep our schools free in

America and have no bonfire of books as they had in Germany. The Mexican delegate declared that we must work for the right treatment of the laboring people. Costa Rica emphasized the need of free exchange of goods among all American republics. The delegate from Colombia made the most impressive of all the suggestions. Just as all of us have developed patriotism for our own nation, he said, it is now our duty to develop "continental patriotism." Love and devotion to the whole continent, as the home or motherland of every American, should now become our motto, said the Colombian.

**Solidarity of the Americas.** When Hawaii was attacked by Japan on December 7, 1941, Chile asked the Pan American Union to call a meeting immediately to declare the solidarity of the whole continent. At the conference held a month later at Rio de Janeiro, the representative of Mexico declared in the midst of great applause: "The first thing we must realize is that this attack on the United States is an attack against the whole of America. The men who gloriously fell on Wake Island and the Philippines met their death in the defense of the free destinies of these Americas." The conference unanimously asked all American countries to break off relations with the Axis. Immediately, every republic but two announced its compliance with the request. All the Latin-American countries north of Panama except Mexico went so far as to declare war immediately. Mexico followed suit in June, 1942. For the first time in history, every country from Hudson Bay to the Panama Canal united in fighting

against the threatened invasion of the American continent.

In the week that the Japanese took Singapore, President Roosevelt vetoed a bill in Congress to subsidize the cultivation of the guayule plant within the United States. This seemed a strange procedure, at the moment when the evidence was clear that we had just lost our former supply of rubber, as well as tin, quinine, and many other valuable products. The President, however, was taking the long view. He explained that he vetoed the bill because the provisions of the bill stated that the aid for the cultivation of guayule should be limited to the United States. "It is vital," the President declared, "that all the potential rubber-producing areas in the Western Hemisphere be developed, regardless of whether within or without the United States." In referring to the action of the recent Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro he expressed the wish that "continental solidarity be translated into positive and efficient action in the obtaining of strategic materials."

#### **United States Aid to Latin America.**

About the same time it was announced that the United States would aid other American nations in many ways. Argentina would receive our co-opera-

tion in turning into alcohol some of the enormous surpluses of corn then rotting on the ground. Ecuador would receive an important scientific and technical mission to assist in the construction of naval and air bases vital to the defense of the Panama Canal, as well as to improve the sanitation of the country. Brazil was granted a credit of about \$100,000,000 by the Export-Import Bank (page 326) to intensify her production of rubber and iron and to speed the Brazilian defense program. Various health missions were announced as ready to proceed to areas vital for carrying out the defense of the continent. They would work on such problems as water supply, disposal of waste, building hospitals, and training specialists in public health. Several million sets of radios would be distributed at cheap prices in the American republics to enable the people to listen to improved programs which the United States proposed to prepare. These were only a few of the many ways that the Good Neighbor Policy had developed after the start of the second World War. A more complete discussion of the thrilling story of recent inter-American friendship will be told later. Our purpose here is to get a rapid picture of the whole continent.



### Words and Terms to Learn

Hispanic  
*dignidad*  
fiesta  
patio

Latin American  
hemisphere solidarity  
Monroe Doctrine  
Pan American

### Learning through Discussion

1. What reasons are given for studying Latin America? Can you think of any additional reasons?
2. Why is "Latin America" used instead of "Hispanic America" or "Indo-America"? What do Latin Americans usually call the people of the United States?
3. Why is it possible that the most wonderful developments of the twentieth century may take place in Latin America?
4. Why have the important nations of the world been giving close attention to Latin America? Should the United States follow the same policy?
5. How do you account for the differences in traits between the Anglo-Americans and Latin Americans?
6. List the fundamental characteristics of Latin Americans discussed in this chapter and cite an example of each.
7. Explain the point the author tries to make in mentioning Don Quixote and Sancho Panza.
8. Do you think the people of the United States should try to develop more of any of these Latin-American traits? Which ones? Why?
9. To what qualities of the Latin Americans did Dwight Morrow and Elihu Root appeal?
10. Can you imagine how different high-school life in the United States would be if students suddenly acquired the six Latin-American qualities discussed in this chapter? If you can, try to write a description of it.
11. Why did the Colombian delegate, in May, 1940, suggest that we develop a "continental patriotism"?
12. Give three examples of action taken by the United States to help build "continental patriotism." Can you add any examples which you have gained from newspapers or magazines?

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. Using an outline map of the Western Hemisphere, indicate the boundaries of the countries in Latin America. Indicate also by your color scheme which countries are Spanish-speaking, which are French, and in which Portuguese is the native tongue. Show also in what part of this hemisphere English is spoken.
2. On an outline map of Latin America indicate the shortest route from Brazil to the following cities: New York, London, Lisbon, Berlin.
3. On an outline map of the Americas locate the homes of the most im-

portant Indian tribes. Consult *Readers' Guide* and the card catalogue of your library for sources of information.

4. Make a chart or graph comparing the area and the population of the United States with those of the Latin Americas.

### Projects and Problems

1. Look up the flags of the different Latin-American republics. If your school does not possess a set of them, hold a flag-making bee. Flags may be drawn on paper and colored with crayolas or water colors, or they may be made of cloth. If you choose to make your flags of cloth, the flagstuffs may be made of sticks used by physicians for swabs.

2. Those who like to build things will enjoy co-operating in the construction of a model of a Spanish type house. Secure descriptive information and pictures in your library in order to be sure that the details of construction are carried out correctly. Other members of the class may draw and paint different types of Spanish buildings.

3. Dramatize a Spanish courtship in costume. Be sure to note how different from a North American courtship it would be.

4. Give a book report on *Don Quixote*. The chapter on the tilt with the windmills might be read aloud in class.

5. Clip from papers and periodicals all items relating to Latin America. Plan a simple filing system and file your clippings after brief reports in class.

6. Consulting the library, select a quotation from a leading authority as to why the Americas, North and South, should study each other's history and culture. The class may vote as to which of the quotations are the most interesting and significant.

The following sources of material may be scanned for quotations: (a) Addresses by President Roosevelt, Vice-President Wallace, Secretary of State Hull, and President Avila Camacho of Mexico. (b) Files of *Bulletins* of the Pan American Union; the *Inter-American Monthly*; *The New York Times*; *Harper's Magazine*; *Hispania* (secured from a teacher of Spanish); *A Latin American Speaks*, Quintanilla; *Latin-American Viewpoints*, Luis Alberto Sánchez and others (University of Pennsylvania, 1942); *Inter-American Solidarity*, Lavis (editor); *Hispanic American Relations with the United States*, Robertson; *Problems in Pan Americanism*, Inman; *South America Looks at the United States*, Haring.

7. Interview a person who knows something about a Latin-American country and then make a report to the class. Very interesting information can be obtained from a person who has traveled in Latin America, one who has been employed there, one who is now a government employee as a consul, or one who has had experience working with Latin Americans in this country. Be sure that you have definite questions prepared and know what you want to ask of these people before you take their time for an interview.

8. You can learn a great deal about another country by carrying on a correspondence with a person who lives in that country. Begin such a correspondence now. Names can be obtained from the following agencies, some of which may charge a small fee:

Argentine-American Cultural Institute  
Instituto Cultural Argentino-Norteamericano  
Maipu 686, Buenos Aires, Argentina, South America

Christian Science Monitor Mail Bag  
Miss Ethel C. Ince, Editor Junior Department  
Boston, Massachusetts

My Friend Abroad  
Dr. Sven Knudsen  
248 Boylston Street  
Boston, Massachusetts

National Bureau of Educational Correspondence  
George Peabody College for Teachers  
Nashville, Tennessee

### Opinion Tests

Indicate whether the following statements are true or false. If at this time you have no positive opinion in regard to the statements, it will be well to say so. Students who keep records of their first answers will find it interesting to compare them with impressions at the end of the course.

1. The future interests of the United States lie in the Orient and not in Latin America.
2. Latin Americans love revolutions.
3. The claim that Latin Americans are idealistic really means that they are lazy.
4. It is wrong to refer to the twenty Southern republics as "Latin America" because each country is so different from the others.
5. The present interest shown by the United States in the other Americas is due to temporary conditions and will not last.
6. If the peoples of the Americas could be fully united, there would be no need for them to have relations with other parts of the world.
7. A visit to South America is more interesting than a visit to Europe.
8. Latin America will develop more than any other part of the world in the next twenty-five years.
9. The United States is less to blame than is Latin America for our lack of friendship in the past.
10. In inter-American friendship, trade is more important than cultural relations.

These statements can also be used as subjects for class discussion, if so desired.



## II. RACIAL RELATIONS

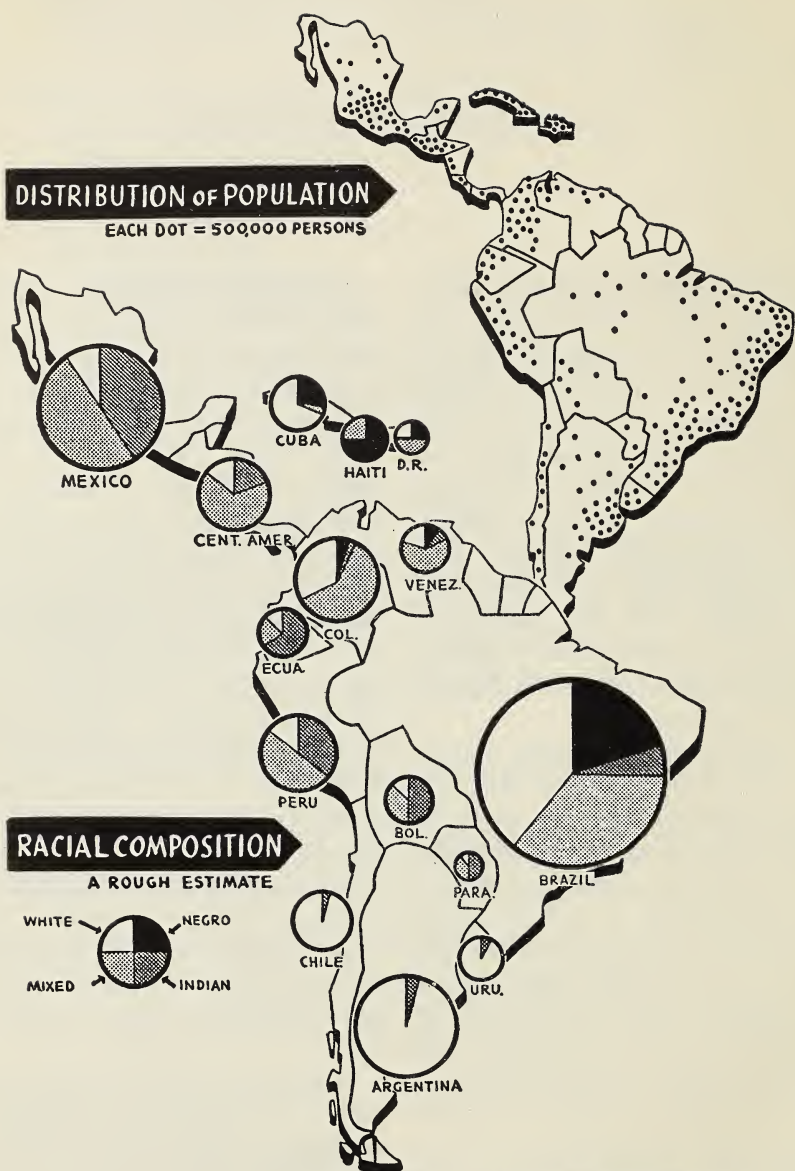
**Racial Composition of Latin America.** Black, white, brown, yellow—the kaleidoscope of faces shifts and changes before the eyes of the visitor to Panama. Standing in the doorway of one of the many East Indian stores, he sees Spaniards, Barbadian Negroes, North Americans, Indians, Chinese, and every conceivable combination of these and other races surge past him. Quite possible, you say, for he is standing at the crossways of the Americas, where such a mixture of peoples could be expected.

But the fusion of peoples, experiences, and ideas is one of the outstanding characteristics, not alone of Panama, nor even of the whole Caribbean area, but of all Latin America. We can never hope to understand its people if we do not know something of their varied heritage. The belief in racial equality, which is so strong in the mind of the Latin American, and in which he differs so much from most North Americans, is due to his inheritance from the past.

Most of Latin America is made up of three principal stocks—the Indian, the Iberian, and the Negro. The Indian is still predominant as to blood in some countries, but the culture of the Iberian (Spanish and Portuguese) holds first place throughout Latin America.

**The Iberian Influence.** The Spaniards and the Portuguese came to the New World well fitted in many ways to establish a culture which would make and retain for itself a place in a new world. Theirs was a culture which was already a blending of diverse elements. Phoenicians and Carthaginians sailed early to the accessible shores of Spain. Rome conquered the whole land so thoroughly that for a time Hispania was possibly the most Roman of all the dominions. When the Roman Empire began to decline, Germanic tribes swept down from the north, and in 415 founded the Visigothic kingdom in Spain which lasted for nearly 300 years. The strongest influx of foreign settlers came through the long Moorish occupation, which lasted about seven centuries. This invasion brought to Spain many Oriental influences which it has never lost.

It was just after the long struggle with the Arabs, who had made important contributions to Spanish life, that Spain undertook the conquest of America. Because of the protracted religious wars against the Moors the Spaniard was influenced by religious as well as material reasons. Spain was eager to win riches, territory, and power, but she was also eager to win adherents to Christianity



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**Distribution of Population and Racial Composition in Latin America**



and to explore new frontiers. The spiritual impulse may explain in part the incredible courage of the Spanish conquerors of the Americas. Sometimes they seemed cruel, covetous, and fanatical; but, in the face of seemingly impossible obstacles, they were brave and tenacious. Such people were bound to leave lasting results.

**The Indian Element.** If the Spaniards who came to America had an international background, so did most of the Indian races with whom they mixed their blood to create the Latin Americans of today. There were uncivilized tribes, like those with whom our ancestors waged war in North America, but the greater part of the aboriginal population belonged to the highly civilized groups which were, like the Iberians, the result of the mingling of different cultures. There were great variations in these ancient cultures, to be sure, but they had certain basic characteristics which were alike. The three greatest were those of the Aztecs in central Mexico, the Mayas in southeastern Mexico and Central America, and the Incas in South America. The mighty empire of the latter stretched from Ecuador through Peru and Bolivia to Argentina and Chile. In the centers of these empires, there developed a civilization in which the cultures of older, more geographically limited races were fused.

These Indians had, in varying degrees, according to the scope and stage of their advancement, many accomplishments. They had an elaborate system of architecture, a mastery of handicrafts, mathematics, and some science, a complex political structure, and, in the case of the Mayas and Az-

tecs, an elaborate system of picture writing. Most of the native rulers whom the Spaniards encountered were intelligent and versed in the arts. So far as racial relations are concerned, there has been nothing discovered as yet which would indicate that the Mayas, the Incas, the Aztecs, or any other early American people had race prejudices. Although their religious practices were often cruel when judged by present-day standards, their beliefs indicate a basic conception of the unity of the universe and the equality of men.

As soon as the most important chiefs had been disposed of and resistance crushed, the conquerors felt assured of their freedom to control and exploit the country's riches. Then they intermarried with Indian women. Later, the Emperor Charles V decreed that no obstacle be placed in the way of marriage between Spaniards and Indians. Economically, the Indian has been terribly exploited by the whites from the conquest down to the present time, but fortunately he has never been socially segregated from them. This explains why most of the Spanish Americans of today are neither Spaniards nor Indians. They are *mestizos*, a mixture of the two. Let us note this word. It is important, for the mestizo dominates most of the Southern republics in numbers.

How the Spaniard was later willing to honor the worthy Indian is shown in the life of the great Inca historian, Garcilaso de la Vega. He was born in Cuzco in 1537, the son of the Garcilaso de la Vega, one of Pizarro's companions, and of an Inca princess. The young mestizo grew up in the old capital of the Inca state, amid the

ruins of the empire's glory. He listened to the sad stories of his mother's family, Inca princes and princesses who lamented the loss of their former grandeur and power.

Young Garcilaso received an education in Latin, Castilian (the language of culture in Spain), and the other branches of learning thought suitable for a gentleman's son. Of course, he also spoke fluently the Quechua tongue, the language of his mother. While he was in school, he became acquainted with other boys of Spanish and Indian blood, who listened as eagerly as he himself to the tales of their royal Inca relatives.

The father of the young Inca died in 1559. The son determined to seek his fortune in his father's country. In 1560 he left Cuzco, never to return. He followed a military career for a time; then, though poor, he decided to devote himself to literary pursuits. While living in a modest house in the city of Córdoba during his lonely old age, he composed his famous history of the Inca Empire. It is to the brilliant work of Garcilaso de la Vega that the world owes most of its knowledge of the remarkable Inca civilization.

When the liberators succeeded in forming the new republics, they granted the Indians the same political rights as the whites. Unfortunately, they did not also recognize and restore their economic rights, nor encourage them to take their rightful place in the social life. The poor barefoot Indian, patiently bearing his heavy load, has been left standing in the dust at the side of the road while civilization thundered by. For centuries he has been used as a means of transporta-

tion or an instrument of production. There are two ways of looking at this problem. Some countries, like the United States, set the Indian apart and keep him by himself on a "reservation." Other countries are now trying to fit him into their national life and add his contribution to their culture.

**The Negro Element.** In considering Brazil and the tropical sections of the Caribbean countries, we must add the African to the Iberian and Indian strains. The Negroes were early brought to Brazil as slaves. It is interesting to know that the good intentions of a priest were responsible for the first importation of slave labor. The priest was Bartolomé de Las Casas, the "Apostle of the Indians."

The father and uncle of Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his second voyage to America. Bartolomé stayed at home and graduated in law at the famous University of Salamanca. But there was much talk in Spain about the Indies, and stories of their fabulous wealth were brought back by every ship. It was natural that young Las Casas should want to see these romantic lands for himself. When he arrived in Hispaniola, the governor gave him an estate. With it, according to the customs of the time, he received a number of Indians to work the land.

A sermon on the responsibilities of the white man toward the Indian made a deep impression on Las Casas. The experience marked the end of his life as lord of a colonial estate, and the beginning of his long and determined fight for the welfare of the Indians. He himself became a priest, one of the first to be ordained in

merica. He worked diligently among the Indians and by his kindness many of them in Southern Mexico became Christians. He saw that they were totally unaccustomed and untrained to the labor in the forests and in the mines which was part of the white man's program. Padre Las Casas thought he could save them by having Africans brought to work as slaves. But before his death he repented bitterly of the injustice he had done the Negroes. He was a great man. He spent his life, and endured sickness and great privation in his work for justice. He helped the natives to such an extent that he was called "Protector of the Indians."

The Southern republics freed their slaves early in the nineteenth century. Chile began the movement in 1811, when it passed a measure providing that all persons born in Chile should be free, and all slaves who were born on the nation's soil should thereby become free. No civil war, like the one fought in the United States, was necessary to bring about the emancipation of slaves in any Latin-American country. In spite of economic injustices, there has been little discrimination against Negroes as a race.

The Republic of Haiti is a striking memorial to its Negro founder, Toussaint L'Ouverture, sometimes called the "Black Napoleon." Toussaint was born on a plantation in 1743, the son of full-blooded Negro parents. He was unusually intelligent, and somehow learned to read, write, and draw. In one of the books loaned to him by a friendly priest, the boy found a prophecy that one day from among the slaves would rise a chief to lead them to liberty. From that time on he felt

that it was he who would be the liberator. His opportunity came in 1791, when the slaves, learning about the French Revolution, rose against their French masters. Toussaint did not take part in the original insurrection, for he did not believe in unrestrained violence. In a short time, however, he was made leader of an organized group of Negroes. Later, after the freedom of the slaves had been accepted, he made himself the ruler of the whole island. He undertook the reorganization and rebuilding of Haiti. His capacity for hard work and his good sense brought back order and gave the island the best government it had ever known. It was a fatal day for Toussaint when Napoleon came to power in France. The Little Corsican sent an armed force to restore slavery to Haiti and subjugate Toussaint. Toussaint was seized and taken to France as a prisoner. The hardships he suffered there caused his death in 1803. But the country he founded and for which he died lives proudly on. An American orator has said: "I would call him Napoleon, but Napoleon made his way to empire over broken oaths and through a sea of blood. This man never broke his word. . . . I would call him Washington, but the great Virginian held slaves. This man risked his empire rather than permit the slave trade in the humblest village of his dominions."

In times past, no matter whether European or Indian blood was held to be superior, the Negro was thought inferior. In some parts of Latin America it is now believed that the Negro may be important in adding contentment to the haughty Spanish and



the stolid Indian types, and in helping in adjustment to environment. The black man's happy attitude toward life has been a more efficient means of resistance than the stoicism of the Indian. Brazil is committed to a policy of developing all races into a unified people. The Negro minority is gradually disappearing through absorption into the general population. Today there is practically no "color bar" in Latin America except that introduced and retained by Anglo-Saxons.

Intellectual, social, and artistic relationships between Indians, whites, and Negroes are already bringing distinctive American attitudes. The pooling of all these interests may be a long way off. But time is on the side of America if it can escape the poisonous ideas of the totalitarian and racial-superiority conceptions of life.

#### RACIAL TENDENCIES TODAY

Within this larger racial conception, there are clearly visible three distinctive racial tendencies. These are notable in the three largest countries of Latin America, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico.

**Brazil's Experiment.** Brazil is aiming for a "cosmic" or universal race. She is making an interesting experiment in race mixture. She believes in absorbing all the peoples within her borders. At one extreme in the population of Brazil is a large number of Negroes, who came as slaves from Africa. At the other extreme is an increasing number of Japanese. These totaled about 200,000 in 1940. As for the African population, a leading Brazilian scientist predicts that within fifty years all Negroes will have been

absorbed. In the eighteenth century Brazil brought into the country about two million slaves. In the early years of the nineteenth century she realized the evils of slavery and began gradually to free different classes of slaves. In 1888, when Brazil was ready to eliminate slavery completely, there were only about 400,000 left. The pure Africans are estimated today at about 5,000,000, living in the north-central part of Brazil, especially in the state of Bahía. That population is getting whiter with each decade.

The population of Brazil in 1942 was estimated at 45,000,000. At the beginning of the last century it was less than 4,000,000. The tribal Indian element of the population has been violently reduced by the invasion of the white man with his exploitation and foreign diseases. Some authorities estimate this population as low as 500,000. The Negroes as well as the Indians have been steadily decreasing. Only the whites maintain their numerical superiority, both by a greater proportional natural increase and by the influx of immigration. What particular color will predominate as one walks along the streets of a Brazilian city a hundred years from now does not seem to bother the people today. What is desired is that all shall be loyal Brazilians. The valiant fight that leading Brazilians are making to keep race prejudice out of their country is shown by a book written by thirty-four Brazilian authors, who combined to protest against efforts from the outside to introduce a movement against the Jews.

**White Argentina.** Argentina has distinctly turned to the supremacy of the white race. European influence



has always been stronger in this country than in any other on the continent. The dominant industry of raising cattle and selling them in Europe never called particularly for African slaves or for the nomadic Indian tribes. As early as 1852, the total population was estimated at 1,200,000. Of this number, 553,000 were mestizos, 100,000 were Indians, and 115,000 were Negroes. In those days two great Argentine leaders whom we shall discuss later—Domingo Faustino Sarmiento and Juan Bautista Alberdi—urged Argentina to enlarge her population by immigration from Europe.

General Julio Roca led a military movement in Argentina, much like that of General Custer and others in the United States, to drive the Indians from the desirable agricultural lands into the outlying districts. These good lands came into the possession of the government. They were distributed to the soldiers and sold to the immigrants who began to pour in from Europe. Land values multiplied. European capital began to build railroads and port works. Argentina started rapidly on her way to prosperity, dominated by capitalism and the white race. Recent figures give the estimated population of Argentina as 13,129,723. Only one million is estimated as non-white. Three Latin-European races—Italian, Spanish, and French—dominate the republic. They are followed by the Germans, English, Swiss, Austrians, Poles, Scandinavians, and Slavs in the order named. Little Uruguay, Argentina's next-door neighbor to the north, is just as definitely white. Other countries which are predominantly white include Chile and Costa Rica.

**Mexico Turns Indian.** Mexico is almost as dominantly Indian as Argentina is white. The policy of the government since the beginning of the new social movement, the "Revolution," in 1910, is definitely to emphasize the Indian element. The government official, the school teacher, the engineer, the missionary—every Mexican patriot, in fact, is urged to take an interest in the Indian. His land, which the foreigner and the Mexican landlord took away from him, must be restored. His art—his weaving, his dances, his folklore—must be restored. Schools must be organized to train him to meet conditions of today. The Indian and the mestizo predominate and should receive first attention.

Along with Mexico, other countries where the Indian influence is especially important are Guatemala, Ecuador, Peru, Paraguay, and Bolivia. Other countries where the Indian influence is strong are El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Venezuela. None of these countries, however, has as definitely turned its attention to developing the Indians as Mexico has. The wandering lowland tribes in South America are rapidly dwindling in numbers. The highland Indians, descendants of the civilized agricultural tribes, are gaining. In 1650 colonial authorities estimated the aborigines at 13,000,000. Today they are calculated at 20,000,000. There is a group of young patriots who insist that the Indians are so important that the proper name for these lands should be not Latin America, but Indo-America. This group lays great stress on the education of the aboriginal population and the elimination of foreign dominance.





*Photo from Monkmeyer Press Photo Service*

In Latin America there are many open-air markets like this one at Toluca, Mexico. Some of them are so crowded with pots and jars, fruits and vegetables, hats and blankets that it is hard to walk through them. Each Indian likes to sell his own wares and to bargain with the customers.



## MODERN IMMIGRATION

Latin Americans, with their characteristic lack of racial prejudice, have welcomed immigration. Simón Bolívar, the Great Liberator, himself said: "We ought to induce immigration of the peoples of North America and Europe, in order that they may settle here and bring us their arts and sciences." Argentine leaders like Alberdi and Sarmiento advocated it a hundred years ago for the good of their country. Modern leaders have the same ideas, although the fear of European communism and Nazism has caused them to stiffen their immigration restrictions.

**Obstacles to Progress.** From the standpoint of the immigrants, four great difficulties have been found in the past. One is the system of great landed estates, commonly known as *haciendas*, which prevails in most of these countries. Some of them are so huge that one can travel for days without ever leaving the limits of a single estate. The income from an estate like this is sufficient to enable its owner to live in luxury in the city, so he has little reason or desire to develop his land intensively. With such a system, the immigrant must become a day laborer, or, at best, a renter. This is no doubt a principal reason why more than 2,000,000 of the immigrants who have come to Argentina during the last seventy years have returned to their homes. Mexico is the only country that has taken serious steps to break up these huge estates. She has, however, done so with the intention of helping her own people rather than attracting outsiders.

Again, the many revolutions which have occurred in Latin America have also deterred immigration. They destroy social life and progress and make people afraid that the new government will not abide by the promises of the former one.

A third difficulty is the lack of educational facilities in many new territories. Latin America is just beginning to pay attention to rural education. This lack of educational facilities, incidentally, explains in a large measure why foreign-language schools have been so popular in Latin America, and why children of immigrants often retained the national characteristics of their parents. Mexico is leading in trying to educate the mass of her people. The fourth obstacle with which the immigrant has had to contend is the lack in most of these countries of good titles to land holdings. Gradually these difficulties are being reduced by fewer revolutions and greater assurance of order and educational privileges.

**Number of Immigrants.** Modern immigration from Europe to Latin America began in the early part of the nineteenth century. People came to Latin America usually for the same reasons that they came to the United States: political upheavals in Europe; lack of opportunity in the older countries; growth and expansion of the New World, with the corresponding need for workers to develop land and industries.

In South America the number of Italian immigrants exceeds that of any other nationality. Buenos Aires has become as great an Italian city as Rome. Brazil has more than 2,000,000 people of Italian descent. Over

1,000,000 are in the state of São Paulo, which is much like northern Italy in climate. This Italian population is easily fused into the land of its adoption, and the Italians become loyal Latin Americans. Spaniards, of course, are found in all these lands in large proportions, except in Brazil, where the Portuguese were the original basis of the European population.

The English, the Scots, and other foreigners form small groups, but they are very influential. Brown, Edwards, Nelson—these and other similar names appear frequently in the early records of the struggle for independence. The visitor to Latin America who is not familiar with its racial background may be surprised to meet people of characteristically Latin appearance, only to find them bearing Anglo-Saxon names.

Poles, Russians, and people of the Balkans are scattered through sections of eastern South America. Turks, Armenians, and East Indians are found by the hundreds of thousands in Brazil, Guiana, Panama, and the islands of the Caribbean. Chinese are found chiefly in Panama, Peru, Mexico, and Cuba. In Habana there are reported to be about 80,000 Chinese, many of whom have been stranded there in a vain effort to enter the United States. The Japanese are strong in Brazil and in Peru, where they have many schools and cultural associations.

The Germans were among the earliest immigrants to South America. Many of them came to Brazil at the invitation of the Emperor Dom Pedro II. He realized what vast spaces and resources in his country were unsettled and untouched, so he made

definite plans to attract immigrants in large numbers. Agents were sent to Europe to seek desirable settlers; shipping companies were offered subsidies for every passage made; often free transportation to the region of their choice was provided for immigrants. The first group of Germans came to Rio Grande do Sul, the southernmost state of Brazil, in the 1820's. After that, they came in waves, settling largely in Brazil's three southernmost states. In 1848 a group of Germans came to southern Chile. It is hard to estimate satisfactorily the number of people of German blood in Latin America at the present time. German sources claim a million in Brazil, and about the same total for all the other countries combined.

Jews have settled in Latin America since colonial days. But the number has considerably increased since their persecution by Hitler. There are some 16,000 Jews in Mexico, 80,000 in Brazil, 60,000 in Chile, and 10,000 in Colombia. Argentina has 300,000 Jews, the twelfth largest Hebrew population in the world. Buenos Aires has four Jewish banks. Two daily papers and numerous reviews are printed in Yiddish. The Jews have contributed much to the development of Latin-American culture. Jews run printing presses in Mexico, raise tobacco in the Dominican Republic, make furniture in Rio de Janeiro, conduct co-operatives in Montevideo, run a hospital in Buenos Aires, farm in large colonies in northern Argentina, teach in the University of Santiago, Chile, run a textile factory in La Paz, Bolivia, conduct an international bookstore in Lima, act as hosts in a modern hotel in Guayaquil. All these things they



to with vigor, intelligence, and patriotism.

North Americans have exerted little influence as far as immigration is concerned. There have been a few attempted colonial ventures. After the close of the War between the States in the United States, some disappointed Southerners went to Brazil, but most of their colonies were unsuccessful. More recently, "Alfalfa Bill" Murray of Oklahoma secured a large tract of land in eastern Bolivia, where he expected to take a number of families to develop a modern colony. This venture, too, proved unsuccessful. Before the Revolution of 1910 there were about 40,000 United States citizens in Mexico, but the majority of these returned home when the revolution took place. In general, the citizen of the United States is not interested in making his home permanently in a Latin-American country. He travels there because of his business interests. He may remain several months or even years, but he almost never considers himself anything but a visitor, ready at a moment's notice to take the next boat or plane for home. The comparatively few colonists from the United States who have adapted themselves to local conditions and made friends with the citizens of the country have grown to love Latin America. But usually they confine their social life to "American" clubs, chambers of commerce, schools, and churches.

North American business has always been largely dependent on agencies conducted by Germans, British, and other Europeans. In the city of Valparaiso, in 1940, there were only five United States businessmen in posi-

tions of any importance. All the large North American firms had as their managers Scotsmen, Germans, and other Europeans. Investigations made by the United States State Department and the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs revealed that a very large number of North American firms were represented in Latin America by Germans, many of whom were using their American connections to aid in Nazi propaganda. All of this means that business and political relationships between North Americans and Latin Americans are not usually smoothed by intimate social contacts. In all of South America there were, in 1940, only 17,787 North American residents, 3,000 of whom live in Argentina, 4,240 in Brazil, 1,281 in Chile, and 3,394 in Venezuela. Mexico has the largest number of United States citizens, with 13,014; 7,222 live in Panama; 5,531 in Cuba; and 3,158 in the Dominican Republic (these figures as reported in January, 1941). In Brazil the North American colony numbers 4,240 whereas there are 1,000,000 Germans. Argentina has 3,000 North Americans as compared with 300,000 Germans. This is in itself an important commentary on the topic we shall discuss concerning the spiritual influence of foreign countries on Latin-American people.

**The Refugee Question.** Immigration to the New World has been increased to some extent in recent years by those who seek a haven from the persecutions of Fascist governments abroad. As the number of refugees from Europe grows and their plight becomes worse, we recognize one of the greatest challenges ever presented to the kindly hearts of humanity. The

cry of these wanderers is voiced by the notable and sensitive Spanish musician Adolfo Salazar, who, exiled by the Franco government because of his liberal views, found refuge in Mexico.

In the silence of my Mexican study, facing a horizon of mountains and clouds, there is peace and solitude; but with us refugees there is only tribulation. We Spanish writers have lost everything: country, family, friends, and a means of livelihood. Worse than this, some of us have lost our faith in the destiny of man, our belief in humanity. This faith Mexico's large cordiality is doing everything possible to restore. . . . In the crisis which the world is experiencing, I have but one desire—to drink ever deeper of the clear, refreshing fountain of knowledge. It seems to me that only thus may we men of thought pay our homage to Humanity.

Problems connected with immigration in Latin America have recently assumed a new aspect. This is due to the expulsion of the Jews and other people of liberal views from Germany. The war has greatly increased the problem. In spite of America's century-long reputation as a refuge for European liberals, the United States and Latin America had, up to 1942, received a total of only about 300,000 refugees. Half of them came to Latin America. Exiled from Germany, Spain, and other lands because of their liberal views and intellectual training, they bring with them great gifts in the form of outstanding scholarship and technical ability. If these gifts are used properly, they can help a great deal in lifting the economic and educational levels and fulfilling the promise of Latin America. The refugees have proved their devotion to the ideal of democracy at the cost of exile from their homes, and they

can be of real help in furthering the democracy of the Americas.

Many of the factors that have discouraged immigration in these countries are now disappearing. Science is contributing heavily to eliminate the drawbacks of the tropics. Tropical diseases are being conquered. A greater degree of physical comfort is being assured by developments in air conditioning and refrigeration. Political life is becoming more stable and liberties are more secure. Rubber, tropical fruits, coffee, and other tropical products are increasingly demanded by the rest of the world. However, Latin America is not growing in population as rapidly as might be expected. One reason for this is the recent rise of nationalism which tends to close doors to foreign immigration. Southern statesmen should consider that fairly dense populations are usually necessary to impel social and inventive processes and that sparsely settled countries find it difficult to command influence in the modern world.

#### PROPAGANDA IN LATIN AMERICA

The activities of foreign residents in attempting to dominate the thought life of the Southern republics has recently taken on the name of propaganda. These activities are nothing new. And propaganda in itself is not bad. It is simply an organized effort to spread certain ideas and to get other people to accept them. Most of the powerful nations have used propaganda in an attempt to persuade the Latin American that the culture, the goods, and the government of a particular country were the best for Latin America. We cannot under-



stand the propaganda used today unless we see the where, how, and why of propaganda in the past.

**Cultural Character of European Propaganda.** Both in theory and in practice, European nations have organized their propaganda for Latin America from a cultural point of view. They present their contributions to literature, education, philosophy, and religion with the idea in mind of attracting the favorable attention of the nation whose interest and friendship is desired. Probably the best job of spreading propaganda in Latin America was done by France. For many years the French government had a department whose whole duty has been the advancement of the national standing of France in other countries. This division always had a large budget and able workers. Both were used to the best advantage. From colonial times it has been the ambition of Latin-American youths to be educated in France. To the well-dressed woman in a Southern republic, just as in the United States, a Parisian frock represented perfection. French was the language of diplomacy. In Latin America France has stood as the symbol of culture for a hundred years. All this is no accident, but the outcome of long, well-directed efforts.

**Economic Character of United States Propaganda.** The United States has presented propaganda, also, but of a very different kind. In the past the approach has been economic. Business and trade have dominated relations with other countries. Citizens of the United States have often insisted that the only way to develop friendship with Latin America is through trade. United States diplomacy has

been engaged chiefly in protecting American business. In Mexico, particularly, our ambassador has considered himself the advocate of the petroleum companies rather than the promoter of a positive program of understanding between the countries. Latin America has naturally assumed that the United States is more interested in trade than in culture. Representatives of the United States have "talked business" so consistently that it has been hard for the Latin American to believe that any motive other than buying or selling could bring them to the Southern republics.

Within the past few years, however, the United States has been encouraging cultural relationships as well as fostering trade with Latin America. A Division of Cultural Relations has been established in the State Department. Students of Latin America and the United States, in increased numbers, are being sent to study in each other's schools. A greater emphasis is being given to the study of Spanish and Portuguese. But the United States government is still largely dependent upon individual effort, and that of private companies, to carry on its propaganda in the New World. Increasing government control may bring more unified and effective propaganda.

**Importance of Axis Propaganda in Latin America.** The propaganda of the Axis nations, Italy, Japan, and Germany, has been of different degrees of importance. Italy has done very little propagandizing in spite of the fact that a great many Italians live in South America. As has been mentioned before, these Italians are assimilated so readily into Latin America that they present no great problem



of divided allegiance. They feel themselves to be loyal Latin Americans, and that is the way they act. The Japanese are not so easily assimilated. Brazil has encouraged their mixture with Europeans, Negroes, and mestizos to make a "cosmic" race, but most of them have continued to be loyal to Japan.

German propaganda began many years ago in Latin America. This propaganda soon became very effective, through the cultural approach. With the advent of Hitler in 1933 German propaganda took on the precision of a military machine. The large numbers of Germans concentrated in Chile, Argentina, and southern Brazil made a good basis for the spread of Nazi propaganda, and it is in those areas that the most serious problems lie. The spreading of propaganda is as definite and well organized a part of the German war effort as any military campaign—and as strictly controlled by the government. The embassies and the consulates became the center of this elaborate campaign. The cultural and press attachés of the embassies spent a great deal of money, many times as much as was spent by the United States. Newspapers were bought up, filled with propaganda, sold very cheaply, and distributed free to military men. German schools became agencies for the preaching of Nazi philosophy. Powerful short-wave stations in the fatherland sent carefully planned programs to Latin America. Groups of Latin-American businessmen and students were taken to Germany as the guests of the government. They were taken on specially conducted tours, then at night put on the radio to tell their friends

and families at home what wonderful things they had seen. Nazi diplomatic officials made careful card files of all Germans in South America, and, if they did not co-operate when the Nazis wanted them to, there were devious ways of applying pressure. A man's business would suddenly begin to fall off, or he would hear unhappy news from his relatives in Germany.

The Nazi propaganda was directed toward three main ideas: first, the greatness of Germany and its Führer; second, the failure of democracy and the United States; third, the doctrine of anti-Semitism. In a booklet prepared by Propaganda Minister Goebbels in August, 1942, the following appeared under the title, *From God's Own Country*:

The climax of their (the Americans') technical inventions is the icebox and the built-in closet. This country, which is waging war against the oldest cultural peoples of Europe and Asia, does not itself own a permanent theater or opera house. The U. S. A. does not possess one poet, artist, architect, or composer of world stature. This country does not possess its own language; it has no culture of its own. According to official American statistics, there are in New York 190 Protestant churches, 430 Catholic churches, as against 1000 synagogues . . . Everything is junk and fake. As to God's own country, well, it was the Europeans who discovered it, it is Europeans who still today give it life, and if it were put on its own feet, it would soon again become desert.

Before long, the Latin Americans became tired of the Nazi efforts and began to see the danger that was confronting them. They passed laws strictly controlling all foreign schools, in many cases entirely forbidding them. They prohibited meetings in

which discussions were carried on in a foreign language. It was during this period that the Nazi propaganda was driven underground and became exceedingly destructive, productive of fifth-column activities of all sorts. The daring work of exposing German schemes was due to young friends of democracy like Fernández Artucio, professor of philosophy in the University of Montevideo. The story of his struggle and the activities of the Germans can be read in English in his book, *The Nazi Underground in South America*. It was in Uruguay that the real effort to dislodge the Nazis began. At the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, all the American republics appointed a committee to work toward

the elimination of the propaganda of all the Axis powers.

How to prevent the virus of racial hatreds entering Latin America from the outside world is one of the most difficult jobs facing the continent. Whichever way the military struggle is settled, the war of cultures will no doubt continue. Our Southern neighbors may be swayed momentarily by this or that series of outside events. However, their greatest desire is to be governed, not by foreigners, but by themselves. The foreign influences that will be most acceptable will undoubtedly be those that show the greatest tendency to aid the Latin Americans to enjoy social justice, economic prosperity, and spiritual independence.

### Words and Terms to Learn

Iberian  
Castilian  
anti-Semitic  
racial relations

mestizo  
Indo-America  
propaganda  
cultural relations

### People to Identify

Garcilaso de la Vega  
Bartolomé de Las Casas

Toussaint L'Ouverture  
Napoleon

### Learning through Discussion

1. How do you account for the fact that Latin Americans tend to believe in race equality more than do people in the United States?
2. What kinds of Indian civilization did the Spanish and Portuguese find in the New World?
3. What is a mestizo? How important is this group in Latin America? Do you know of any prominent citizens of this country who were mestizos?
4. Contrast the treatment of the Indians in Anglo-America with that in Latin America during the colonial period.
5. What is the importance of Garcilaso de la Vega? of Bartolomé de Las Casas? of Plácido? of Toussaint L'Ouverture?
6. What is Brazil's racial policy today? Though you are not qualified to give a final judgment, what is your present opinion of it? Why?

7. Contrast the racial doctrines of Brazil with those of Nazi Germany. Which do you consider to be the better for the future of the world?
8. What is the racial policy of Argentina?
9. Can you prove by means of statistics that the proportion of mestizos in Mexico's population has greatly increased during the last century?
10. Have the Indians survived better in the lowlands or highlands of Latin America? Can you explain why?
11. What four factors have hindered immigration into Latin America?
12. Contrast the immigration from Italy and Germany to Latin America with that from the United States.
13. Before 1933 which European government had been most successful in its propaganda in Latin America? Contrast its policy with that of the United States.
14. Write a paragraph in answer to Dr. Goebbels's statement quoted from *From God's Own Country*.
15. Who is Fernández Artucio, and what has he done about Axis propaganda?
16. Compare the population density of Latin America with that of the United States. Is there any reason to expect Latin America's population to increase rapidly in the future?

### Learning through Charts and Graphs

1. Make a chart in which you compare the various nationalities represented in Latin America with those in the United States, showing the total number of each nationality.
2. Show the relative density of population in the United States and that of Latin-American countries by means of a line graph.
3. Draw a circle and divide it into segments representing the proportionate number of whites, Indians, Negroes, Orientals, and unclassified population of the twenty Latin-American republics, the total population being approximately 130,000,000.
4. Make a graph to show the number of immigrants entering Latin America for a certain year. *The Statesman's Year-Book* will provide the necessary information.

### Projects and Problems

1. Present a pageant showing the native Indians at their occupations before the coming of Columbus in 1492. Show how the conquistadors enslaved the natives. Portray Las Casas feeling sympathy for the Indians and deciding to import Negro slaves to do the work. Finally show the mixed races of today and indicate the races predominating in Haiti, Peru, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Nicaragua.
2. List the contributions of Indians, whites, and Negroes to the democracy of the American continent. Consult reference books in your library for this information.
3. Make an oral report on the life and work of one of the following: Padre Las Casas, Plácido, L'Ouverture.



4. Consulting the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*, make a report on the refugee problem in the Western Hemisphere. Be sure to obtain the latest available figures.
5. Make a report on the activities of the Department of Cultural Relations of the United States Department of State.
6. A Colombian, commenting on our non-assimilation of certain racial groups, said: "If your country is a melting pot, mine is an electric mixer." Explain what he meant.
7. Study the problem of race relations in your community. Get first-hand information from representatives of minority groups. The Spanish-speaking minority of our Southwest is important in providing a miniature problem involving inter-American relations.

### Opinion Tests

Are the following statements true or false, in your opinion?

1. Latin Americans are more like the Orientals than they are like the Anglo-Saxons.
2. It would not be possible to have race riots between whites and Negroes in Brazil such as those that sometimes occur in the United States.
3. The Indian element is more important in Latin-American character than is the Spanish.
4. People of the United States are less liked in South America than are any other foreigners.
5. The Italians mix better with South Americans than any other foreigners because, as Latins, they are similar.
6. Latin Americans are more democratic than we are in the way in which they treat different races.
7. Latin-American republics have been less kind to their Indians than we have because they have not provided reservations for them.
8. Because the Anglo-Saxon peoples are the most capable, they should direct the affairs of people of other cultural types.

### III. GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS

How many maps have you seen in show windows and newspapers in the last month? Without counting the number, you may be sure that it was a great many more than you saw ten years ago. The reason for this is that the world has become geography-minded. We know now how basic geography is in the life of the world and its people. The Germans have invented a new word for the intimate relationships between seas, mountains, deserts, rivers, and the foreign policy of governments. They call it geopolitics. The great discoverers of the fifteenth century showed the world the importance of geography as they rounded Cape Horn at the end of South America and the Cape of Good Hope near the tip of Africa, adding huge territories and great power to Spain and Portugal. England, France, Holland, and later the United States, all struggled for possession of the islands of the Caribbean—not because the islands themselves were so important, but because the geopolitics involved were important. The country that controlled these islands gained thereby an important influence on the American continent. Today some barren little island, thousands of miles out in the sea, may, all of a sudden, become of as much concern to a nation as one of its populous, wealthy

cities. In the study of Latin America, geography thus becomes the liveliest possible topic, for it is intimately connected with the fight for freedom the world around.

#### CONTINENTAL DEFENSE

The Battle of the Continents is the name sometimes given to the second World War. Five mighty military centers developed: Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and America. The leader that succeeded in controlling any two of these continents might control the world. The idea that the whole American continent would stand or fall together, the idea expressed by President Monroe in the famous Monroe Doctrine, is stronger today than ever before.

In the blackout of war, the flashlight of defense is focused on these points: Iceland to the northeast, the Strait of Magellan at the south, Puerto Rico and Natal to the east, Hawaii and the Galápagos Islands on the west. These mark the continents we defend. They are united in the middle by the Panama Canal, which is the heart, located in the center of the continental body. Every American—not simply the admirals and the members of the general staff—has a new incentive to know these and the intervening points of the home he defends.

**A Bird's-Eye View of the Continents.** Take your stand at Panama—with Balboa, “silent upon a peak in Darien”—a little mountain from which both the Pacific he discovered and the Atlantic which bore him to America can be seen. Great battleships, small destroyers, submarines, and bombing planes are passing back and forth in and above the canal. Parallel to the present locks that lift the mighty ships up from the Atlantic level and down again to the Pacific is a third set of locks being rushed to completion. Tens of thousands of men and machines are making the American lifeline stronger for the defense of democracy. To the east, lie the 1,200 islands of the Caribbean. Farthest away toward Europe lies the United States' newly militarized Puerto Rico, and its three little sentinels, the Virgin Islands. Nearer to our back door is Guantánamo, the naval base leased to the United States by Cuba. Between are friendly Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Scattered over the sea are the English, Dutch, and French islands, reminders of the former powerful influences of these nations in America. Only the French islands hold potential danger, for, in 1940, Great Britain granted military bases to the United States in the Bahamas, Bermuda, Jamaica, Antigua, Santa Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana. These colonies, with the exception of the small space for military bases, still belong to Great Britain, but the co-operation thus established will, in the future, probably lead to the even closer relation of these places with the United States.

Two Dutch islands, Curaçao and Aruba, just off the north coast of

Venezuela are of great importance, both because of their nearness to Panama and because of their great oil refineries, which process the petroleum from the fields of Venezuela. These islands were occupied by United States' soldiers at the request of Holland, when that country was invaded by the Nazis in 1940. The French colonies, the largest of which are Guadeloupe, Martinique, and French Guiana, continued to be a threat. Therefore, in the 1940 conference at Habana, arrangements were made for a joint Pan-American Commission to take these over if Hitler tried to take them forcibly away from France. All of these places mentioned are Atlantic approaches to the Panama Canal. By 1942 they had all come under the temporary military control of the United States.

Face about at your observation post at Darien and look west. The few small dots just outside the canal entrance are under the United States flag. North of Panama the first important point is Fonseca Bay. The proposed Nicaraguan Canal, which is not likely soon to be built, would have its Pacific entrance in this bay. It washes the shores of El Salvador and Honduras as well as Nicaragua. The United States secured the right to fortify this bay in 1914, along with the right to build the Nicaraguan Canal. From Fonseca Bay, to the north, the next strategic point in Latin America is the Magdalena Bay in Lower California, a territory of Mexico, one of the United Nations.

Now turn your eyes south again, past Panama. It is 535 miles to the southwest before the eyes light on outposts similar in size to any one of a



number of Caribbean islands. These are the Galápagos. They are the neglected children of Ecuador. A human being, unless he be some wandering naturalist or the survivor of a shipwrecked crew, seldom sees these islands. But all of a sudden, when Japan attacked Australia, these islands became important. They are possible bases for an air thrust at Panama. In 1942 the United States arranged with Ecuador to fortify the islands. This may mean the beginning of civilized community life on these lonely outposts.

Two thousand miles below the Galápagos and 365 miles out in the Pacific are found the islands of Juan Fernández. They belong to Chile. These are also dismal, inhospitable spots. One of them is supposed to be the island upon which Defoe represented Robinson Crusoe as taking refuge. To the west lies Australia in a direct line, 7,000 miles away. However, it is possible that the development of the bombing plane may, as in the case of the Galápagos, raise these bare islands to a center of importance.

Farther south, the Strait of Magellan offers a rough, picturesque passage for ships between the Pacific and the Atlantic. The building of the Panama Canal and the establishment of air traffic from Santiago to Buenos Aires have lessened the use of this strait. But if the Panama Canal were closed, it would again assume enormous importance. Chile and Argentina are considering the joint fortification of this strait.

In the South Atlantic, off the coast of Argentina, are found the famous Falkland Islands. These occupy an important strategic position. A sig-

nificant naval battle was fought off those shores between Germany and Great Britain in the first World War. From this base during the second World War, the British sent their cruisers to overwhelm the German pocket battleship, the *Graf Spee*, at Christmas time in 1939.

The next outstanding strategic position is Cabo Este, on the southeastern corner of Uruguay, where the great estuary, Rio de la Plata, sweeps out to sea. Control of that cape by a foreign power would allow it to dictate the life of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. In 1939 a Nazi fifth-column plot was uncovered, which showed that the storm troopers were plotting just such control. Near that cape, the *Graf Spee* received its mortal wounds. The United States aided Uruguay, in 1942, to fortify Cabo Este. Argentine, British, and United States battle cruisers maintain patrol duty around this important point.

Cape São Roque, with its municipality, Natal, Brazil, is the next outstanding strategic point. It has received much attention in the news because, at the beginning of the second World War, the public suddenly realized that it lay within approximately 1,700 miles of Dakar, Africa. This sudden discovery by North Americans led to many false statements and erroneous theories. "Latin America is closer to Europe than to the United States," was one completely false statement often made. (Natal is but one small point in Latin America. Dakar is not even in Europe; instead it is many miles distant from Berlin, Paris, or London.) A small group of self-appointed strategists in the United States suggested that we should draw a line



through South America, more or less along the Amazon River, and undertake to defend only the section north of that line. Such suicidal appeasement has never been seriously considered by Washington, which, from the days of Monroe, has believed that America as a whole must be kept free from European dominance. With the aid of the United States Brazil is building air fields and fortifications all through the Natal section and on the island of San Fernando, 300 miles out to sea on the way to Dakar.

We have now completed the sweep around the continent. We have located the important southern geographical points vital to the defense of the American continent.

#### GEOGRAPHY AND FOREIGN POLICY

If geography explains to a great degree the foreign policy of a continent, it also throws much light on the foreign policy of individual countries. How is it that Argentina is so friendly to Europe, and Peru is so friendly to the United States? Argentina faces toward Europe. Its great plains produce enormous amounts of wheat and meat, which are needed by Europe. Vast steamship lines are developed, great business enterprises grow, aided by European capital. Immigration from Europe flows into these great plains. European capital develops Argentine railroads. So geography influences production, and, as a result, foreign trade and cultural relations as well.

Things are different in Peru, situated as it is on the west coast of South America. It is a mountainous land. One of its exports is copper, shipped out from a Yankee-owned mine. It

is near to the Panama Canal and the United States. Peruvian foreign policy is therefore likely to favor closer relations with the United States.

Chile is a long shoestring republic with 2,600 miles of coast line. Open to attack from every side, she must therefore watch her step. Chile is neither a confirmed friend of Europe nor of the United States. Her foreign policy consists in keeping to the middle of the road.

Mexico is different. She is the next-door neighbor of the United States, a country of overpowering strength. This fact means that most of Mexico's foreign policy revolves around the question of protecting herself from, or co-operating with, her great North American neighbor.

Brazil has still a different position. This illustrates the fact that foreign policy is not a simple matter. She is nearer to Europe than is Argentina. Yet she has always maintained a consistent friendship toward the United States. Why is this so? One reason is that Brazil is the greatest producer of coffee in the world. The United States drinks more coffee than any other country. Also, this great country borders on seven different South American nations. It is to Brazil's interest, as a result, to promote friendship between South American countries.

The development of the west coast of South America has been retarded because the high Andes make transportation, education, and other unifying processes difficult. On the other hand, the great plains of Argentina, Uruguay, and southern Brazil make for progress. People situated like the Chileans always develop a venture



ome spirit and a hospitable attitude toward foreigners. For these Chile is famous. Mexico, Cuba, and other parts of the Caribbean are influenced by the overflowing life of the United States. People in the tropics lack the drive and progress of those who live in temperate climates. Every section of Latin America demonstrates, by the peculiar character of its people, geography's powerful influence.

### A COMPARISON OF THE AMERICAS

The Western Hemisphere can be thought of as having three distinct divisions: North America, including the United States and Canada; Middle America,<sup>1</sup> and South America. Middle and South America, with their twenty republics, make up what we call Latin America, an area containing over eight and a half million square miles of territory—slightly less than that which composes North America. Although this area represents almost 20 per cent of the inhabited land of the world, the total population of Latin America is about 130,000,000. This small population is due in part to the inhospitable character of much Latin-American land, with its tropical jungles and deserts, and also to the fact that for many years Latin America has been so remote from the North Atlantic countries which have been the pivot of world activity.

A glance at the map will show that South America is a huge triangle, 4,600 miles from north to south and 3,200 miles from east to west at its widest point. This great triangle is connected to western North America

by Middle America; to the east, the Caribbean islands are stepping stones to the North American coast.

**Topography.** In their general topography, as well as in their area, North America and South America are much alike. Both areas have formidable mountain barriers formed by the Cordilleran mountain system, which includes the mountains of Middle America, the Andes Mountains of South America, and the Rocky Mountains of the United States and Canada. These are young, rugged ranges, contrasting strongly with the older, worn ranges in the eastern sections of both continents. Both North and South America have huge river systems, such as the Mississippi and the Amazon systems, which drain vast interior plains.

However, these are superficial likenesses. A closer examination shows great differences. The Andes extend north and south for over 4,500 miles, cutting off the east of Latin America from the west. They are narrower, but higher, than the Rockies. Rising steeply from the Pacific, they have towering peaks over 20,000 feet high. Unlike the Rockies, they have very few passes less than 10,000 feet above sea level. Except in Bolivia they are less than 200 miles wide. Because of their great height and the scarcity of mountain passes, the Andes form the most formidable mountain barrier in the world. Only a few railroads have been built across the Andean range. Consequently, much transportation between the eastern and the western parts of South America is by sea, although the airplane is coming

<sup>1</sup> Middle America is a popular name which includes the Central American republics the three republics of the West Indies, and Mexico.





to occupy an increasing place in this transmountain communication.

Unlike the North American coast line, the coast line of Latin America is regular, so that the natural harbors for ocean-going steamers are few. Further, those harbors which do exist are largely on the east coast. The reason for the striking lack of harbors on the north Pacific coast is that for thousands of years the whole continent of South America has been tilting gradually upward in the north and downward in the south. This process has resulted in a steady rise of the northwestern coastal mountains, so that now they jut steeply from the sea, leaving a coast line from the Isthmus of Panama to Chile almost void of harbors. This lack of ports has made it necessary for sea-going boats to anchor off shore in open water and transfer cargoes and passengers ashore by lighters. On the Atlantic shores there are good harbors which have been formed by the Orinoco, the Amazon, and La Plata rivers at the points where they empty into the sea. Good harbors are found also along the Caribbean coast.

**Temperature.** The greatest difference between North and Latin America is in their positions with regard to the equator. While three fourths of North America lies in the temperate climate, about three fourths of Latin America is in the tropics; so the two continents show great differences in vegetation, animal life, and population. A warm or hot climate is not so conducive to human activity as a more moderate climate, and life in Latin America tends to be at a slower tempo than in North America. Temperatures there do not vary so greatly

from season to season as they do in North America.

In the lowlands along the Caribbean coast and in the equatorial forests of South America, there is continual heat and unceasing rain. But there is almost no rain in the hot, arid deserts which cover the northern part of Mexico, the western plains of Argentina, the coast of Peru, and the northern tip of Chile. On the other hand, the Valley of Mexico, the Central Valley of Chile, Brazil's highlands, and Argentina's pampas all have mild, pleasant climates. That the mountains and highlands have a great effect on temperature is shown by the fact that in the tropics there is a one degree drop in temperature for every additional 300 feet of elevation. Thus it is frequently too cold for comfort in the mountain city of Quito, Ecuador, although that city is located only a few miles from the equator.

**Rainfall.** Mountains and highlands also influence rainfall. The rain which falls on the Caribbean lowlands and the tropical part of South America east of the Andes is borne on the trade winds blowing in from the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. These winds, moving in from the northeast and southeast, drop their moisture as they sweep up the slopes of the highlands to the Andes. Very little moisture crosses the mountains to the tropical portion of the west coast, which rarely has rain.

The entire trade-wind belt shifts north or south, according to the season. During the South American summer months, December to March, the area with the greatest rainfall is that between southern Brazil and the Guiana Highlands. In the winter,



however, the rainy belt shifts northward, covering the region north of the Amazon River and continuing over the Caribbean Sea. Over lower South America, below latitude  $30^{\circ}$ , the direction of the trade winds is reversed, and

rainfall are affected, too, by the Peru Current. Nowhere in the world are the effects of a cold water current so noticeable as here. This current, formerly called the Humboldt Current, but now generally referred to as the

## LINING UP OUR LATITUDES



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they blow from west to east, bearing moisture from the Pacific Ocean. Central and southern Chile, therefore, have abundant rainfall, as the high Andes force the winds to deposit their moisture on the coastal plain and in the valley along the west coast.

Latin-American temperature and

Peru Current, has a far-reaching effect on the climate along the coast of Peru and northern Chile. On-shore winds blowing over this cold water current cause the air temperatures all the way from northern Chile almost to the equator to be much lower than the averages for each latitude.

#### FOUR DOMINANT UNITS

The political, economic, and social life of Latin America is influenced by four dominant geographical units: the Caribbean Sea, the Andes Mountains, the pampa of eastern South America, and the Amazon Valley.

**The Strategic Importance of the Caribbean Sea.** The Caribbean Sea is to the American Continent what the Mediterranean is to Europe. Just as the nation which dominates the Mediterranean controls Europe, so the nation that dominates the Caribbean can control America. Likewise, the Panama Canal at one end of the Caribbean is comparable in importance to the Suez Canal at one end of the Mediterranean. At the close of the fifteenth century the Spaniards deposited the first load of European civilization on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola. A few decades later England, France, and Holland invaded the West Indies in order to secure their part of the New World riches. For 200 years European wars were prolonged in the Caribbean. The United States, after independence was established, objected to Europe's continuing the Caribbean as a battleground. Thomas Jefferson early emphasized the fact that the Caribbean should be dominated by the United States. In recent decades this country has demanded, as an integral part of its foreign policy, the control of the West Indies. We aided Cuba to drive the Spanish from their last stronghold in America. We aided Panama to free itself from Colombia in order that the canal might be built. About the same time great American commercial corporations developed enormous plan-

tations in the Caribbean area for the production of bananas, sugar, coffee, and cacao. The Caribbean then became what some critics called "an American lake." The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 changed the map of the world. For 400 years great rulers had dreamed of this canal. When it was finally built, it restored the Caribbean to a position of world importance and advanced the development of the west coast of Central and South America.

The waters of this "American Mediterranean" are warmed by the north equatorial current of the Atlantic. Trade winds blow from the east, bringing heavy rainfall. But sunshine, too, is abundant, making the lands warm and humid. Thus is provided the climate which means thickly populated islands, rich in such profitable crops as bananas and sugar. Puerto Rico, belonging to the United States, has almost 600 people to the square mile. Barbados, which belongs to the British, has one of the densest populations of the world—1,200 persons to the square mile.

The Caribbean is a great oval-shaped sea, bounded, roughly speaking, on the north by three islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico; on the east by a chain of small islands, the Lesser Antilles, beginning with the Virgin Islands, sixty miles from Puerto Rico, and ending with Trinidad, which hugs the coast of Venezuela. The southern boundary of this oval is made by the strong, well-anchored, northern section of the South American mainland, the Republic of Venezuela, and that section of Colombia which extends as far as the little neck of land called Panama,

about which has centered more controversy than any other spot in the New World. The western boundary of the Caribbean is made up of Panama, four of the republics of Central America, British Honduras, and the jutting peninsula of Yucatán which swings up at the northwest.

The area of the Caribbean lands, strictly speaking and not including Mexico or the Guianas, is 1,126,700 square miles. In this is included the land actually washed by this sea, that is, the five republics of Central America, two of South America, the three West Indian republics, the possessions of the United States (Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands), the possessions of Great Britain, the largest of which are British Honduras, Jamaica, and Trinidad, the French islands in the Lesser Antilles, and the Dutch islands off Venezuela, the largest of which is Curaçao. These countries and colonies have a population of approximately 27,000,000 people, about one in every thousand being a citizen of the United States.

The Caribbean is the source of many blood-and-thunder stories based on the era of the buccaneers and pirates. Some are based on fact; others on mere tradition; while others are purely imaginary. The events of Robert Louis Stevenson's exciting novel *Treasure Island* take place on an imaginary island situated in the West Indies area. Charles Kingsley, in *Westward Ho*, paints for us the horrors of the Inquisition in Cartagena, where the reader is overwhelmed with the shrieks of Rose Salterne piercing the dark corridors of the Inquisition court. Rafael Sabatini in *Captain Blood*, that most exciting of all buc-

caner yarns, paints a wonderfully clear picture of a naval attack on Cartagena. It was in these waters that Joseph Conrad served his apprenticeship as a sailor and secured material for his romantic novels.

**The Andes Mountains.** The Andes Mountains are more than 4,500 miles long, extending from the northern part of South America, in Colombia, to the extreme tip at Tierra del Fuego. In places this mountain chain is more than 100 miles in width. It follows closely the western coast line and traverses Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Argentina. The Andes consist of two approximately parallel chains with a depression between. The average height is 13,000 feet above sea level, as compared with the highest single peak in the United States, Mt. Whitney in California, which is only 14,501 feet. One peak, Aconcagua, in Argentina, is 22,835 feet, one of the highest in the world. Several are more than 20,000 feet, and scores are between 18,000 and 20,000 feet. The Andes chain is the longest in the world and second only to the Himalayas in height.

Between the Andes chains is a high, broad plateau called the *altiplano*. Between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes lies a narrow coastal plain. It varies from low, tropical land and desert regions, where there is almost no rainfall, to the great central valley of Chile, where is found the majority of the population.

The population of the Andean region is distributed where people can make a living. The jungle lowlands are sparsely inhabited, not so much because they are hot, as because of weeds and pests. The desert regions



which can be irrigated or which have large nitrate or mineral deposits are fairly densely populated. The bulk of the population of South America's west coast, however, lives high on the mountain slopes. There is the region where two and even three crops a year can be grown profitably and where there are the greatest mineral riches.

On the high, broad plateaus stand some of South America's principal cities. Bogotá, capital of Colombia, a city of a third of a million people, is on a plateau 8,660 feet above sea level. Quito, capital of Ecuador, is in a picturesque valley, 9,350 feet above sea level. Cuzco, in Peru, once the capital of the Inca Empire, is 11,440 feet above sea level. Cerro de Pasco, a mining town in the Peruvian Andes, is 14,208 feet above sea level. La Paz, Bolivia, high in the Andes (12,000 feet), is the highest capital in the world. There are many Bolivian towns that are 10,000 to 15,000 feet above sea level.

The considerable number of people who are able to make a living in the Andes region indicates that, although the rugged topography presents formidable barriers to the development of trade and industry, in many areas man has succeeded in overcoming these obstacles.

Chile differs sharply from the other Andean countries. It is divided into three distinctive sections. In the North are the dry nitrate and copper mines. Its life revolves around the big mines owned by foreigners, with even the food and water imported from the outside. Workmen face an industrial situation, completely different from the highland industries. The central section is rich and populous.

Here the business of the nation is carried on, and food is raised. Southern Chile starts with the lake region, comparable in beauty and climate to Switzerland. Here the German colonies dominate, keep the inns, and control business. Farther south, running on down to the most Southern town in the world, Punta Arenas, are the great sheep ranches.

**Influence of the Peru Current.** The west coast of South America has a distinct life, different from that of any other section of the world. The inhabitants of the region attribute all manner of happenings to the action of the Peru Current—the weather, prosperity, poverty, the enormous flocks of birds, the overwhelming number of fish—even the late arrival of trains. This seems strange to the visitor until he begins to study this enormous ocean river. It sweeps up from the Antarctic, hugging tightly the coast of Chile and Peru. It then turns westward toward the Galápagos Islands. Near these islands it loses itself in the expanses of the Pacific. The cold current running along the shores of northern Chile and Peru parallels the high Andes Mountains. These mountains hug the coast. The cold current cools the air. This cold air is made still colder when it strikes the sides of the Andes, so there is no precipitation from the bend of the South American continent at Arica to another bend at 11° below the equator, just south of the Guayas River. Because of the lack of rainfall in northern Chile, that section is blessed with her enormous nitrate deposits. If it ever rained there, the greatest riches of Chile would be destroyed.

A slightly different combination of

*Photo by James Sawders*

The bird islands of Peru are a valuable source of fertilizer. The fish, fed by the abundant marine life of the Peru Current, in turn feed millions of sea birds, which produce guano. Guano is one of Peru's notable resources.

geographical circumstances gives Peru its large deposits of guano, valuable as a fertilizer, on the islands off the coast. There is exceptionally abundant marine life in the Peru Current, due to the chemical composition of the water and the protection of the clouds. The enormous amount of fish in that current draws millions of birds. There are so many birds in this region that at times great flocks of them, like a cloud, hide the sun. It has been estimated that one of the small Chincha Islands off Peru has a bird population of 5,600,000, requiring 1,000 tons of fish a day for food. The droppings of these birds constitute the enormous guano deposits. The guano, in turn, is preserved be-

cause of the absence of rain. Guano is rich in phosphates, nitrogen, and other material for plant growth. It is sold by the Peruvians for use as a fertilizer. If the current chances to turn away from the land, as it does once in a great span of years, the birds have no fish for food. They die by the millions, and the Peruvian people, themselves, starve without the means of livelihood. When the current turns, or warm water from the north over-spreads the cold, the hot air rises. Torrents of rain ensue. This means trains are delayed because bridges and tracks are washed out for long distances. In other words, Peruvian life is sometimes radically changed by a trick of the Peru Current. Traveling



from Panama down the west coast, one expects to find the hottest kind of weather as he approaches the equator. Soon, however, he begins to look for his warm clothes. Why? The current is now getting in its work and cooling the atmosphere. Geography has scored again as an explanation of the life of a people.

**Eastern Plains.** The great rolling plains of Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and southern Brazil mean prosperity. They also mean an advanced social and intellectual life. Railroads, telephone lines, and newspapers are easily developed. There are no great mountain barriers to cut off communications. Schools are accessible. People can be mutually helpful in the tasks of building and in other projects of civilization. Access to Europe is easy, so all the natural processes of civilization found in the United States and Central Europe prevail there.

**The Pampa.** The region which has made Argentina what it is today is the *pampa*. The pampa (or pampas) consists of flat prairie lands similar to the plains of the United States. It is located in eastern South America. The present population of this great region is nearly 9,000,000. It is mainly occupied in raising cattle, wheat, and corn. Here are the famous *estancias*, large cattle farms, known the world round for the attractive life they provide, and for the great wheat farms that send their products to all parts of the world. South of the pampa lies the great plateau of Patagonia. This bleak region of some 300,000 square miles is largely devoted to sheep raising.

**El Gran Chaco.** North of the pampa is a lowland plain of 400,000 square

miles known as *El Gran Chaco*. It is a strange, varied land, now dry, now swampy. The most valuable tree of the Chaco forest is the quebracho, which is used in the tanning of leather. Between the rivers are grasslands. Petroleum is sometimes found.

The central plateau of Brazil merges further north into the Brazilian Highlands, which averages about 3,000 feet elevation with mountains that rise to 7,000 and 9,000 feet. Much of this territory is subject to droughts. Jumping over the great tropical lowlands of the Amazon and the Orinoco rivers, one encounters another rich level section, the productive plains, or *llanos*, of Venezuela. Citizens of the United States know the importance of plains in the economic and cultural life of a people.

**The Amazon Valley.** The largest undeveloped section of land in the world is the Amazon Valley. It is a region four fifths as large as the United States. Only a few hundred square miles of it are under cultivation. The Amazon River drains an area of about 2,500,000 square miles—one third of all South America. It is nearly 4,000 miles long from its source to its mouth. Marajó, an island near the river's mouth, is as large as the Republic of Switzerland. The dark waters of the Amazon can be seen nearly a hundred miles out in the Atlantic. It is navigable to ocean-going vessels as far as Iquitos, Peru—nearly 2,500 miles. It is fed by a number of rivers which themselves are comparable in size to famous rivers of other sections of the world.

Francisco de Orellana made the first descent of the Amazon in 1541. The four hundredth anniversary of this



event has drawn fresh attention to this great river. When Orellana started from Peru, he expected to return after a few days of travel down stream, but this soon became impossible. He found himself fighting with the Indians. Among them were some women warriors of large stature. He had previously heard tales of the mighty Amazons and the tribe of women warriors. He thought he had found them, and named the river after them. Fray Gaspar de Carvajal's account of this voyage is one of America's greatest adventure stories. Ever since then the river has been shrouded in romance and mystery.

It is said that during this trip of Orellana's, he saw the Indians playing a game with a ball that bounced. However, it was not until two hundred years later that a French scientist explored the possibilities of rubber. He experimented with its elasticity and found that a rubber raincoat was a handy thing to have. But the rubber would soon dry out, becoming brittle and useless. It remained for Charles Goodyear from the United States, in 1839, to make rubber of general use to mankind. He discovered the process of vulcanizing, a method by which rubber can be treated to improve its strength, hardness, and elasticity. Immediately overshoes, raincoats, and a thousand other useful articles were manufactured from rubber. The great boom on the Amazon attracted men from Europe and the United States. As a result the city of Manáos, 1,000 miles up the Amazon, built the finest opera house in the world. Such luxuries as pianos, caviar, and champagne became common possessions.

Brazil guarded her rubber plants as

carefully as though they were diamonds. However, in 1876 an English man named Henry Wickham, watching his chance, gathered some seeds. Finding an empty ship tied at the docks at Manáos, he paid the captain's price and engaged a gang of natives to smuggle the cargo aboard. For some reason the inspectors failed to examine the cargo, and it reached London safely. The seeds were planted in Kew Gardens, and in a few years the carefully nurtured plants were transferred to the Botanical Gardens in Colombo, Ceylon. The cultivated plants proved to be far superior to Brazil's wild rubber. The boom was ended abruptly. The opera house, along with many other enterprises in Manáos, was closed. By 1910 Brazil had lost her most valuable crop.

The enormous use of rubber tire recently persuaded Henry Ford to try a revival of the rubber business in the Amazon. He secured 2,500,000 acres of land from the Brazilian government on the Amazon tributary, the Tapajós River. He equipped a hospital ship in Detroit and sent it down the Atlantic and up the Amazon to the new settlement of Fordlandia. Engineers and agriculturists developed the project along modern lines. By 1944 a crop of 400,000 pounds of rubber is expected. This is far from the 6,000,000 pounds needed annually by the United States. The Washington government has recently agreed with Brazil to send specialists to aid in producing cultivated rubber and recovering this business for Brazil.

In the past the tropics have been considered difficult places for the white man's residence. Recent developments of science, however, in





*Photo from Keystone View Co.*

Rubber trees grow wild in the Amazon Valley. The tapping of these trees is for the purpose of obtaining the milky juice, called latex, from which rubber is made. A tree must be seven years old to be tapped.

dicade that this whole situation is changing. The automobile and the farm tractor are supplying labor deficiencies. The airplane and the radio bring rapid connections with the outside world. Engineers have recently announced the building of an amphibian carrier boat for commercial purposes, similar to that used by armies. This type of boat can operate in shallow water. It is even able to pass through rapids. President

Vargas of Brazil visited the Amazon district in 1940, and announced coming conference when all the Amazon countries would be asked to send their experts to work out a plan for the development of this great region. The United States government has assigned experts to the study of this same section. It may be that some day refugees from European and Asiatic countries can here find their future home.

### Words and Terms to Learn

geopolitics	fortification	nitrates
militarized	erroneous theory	pampa
guano	Gran Chaco	llanos
appeasement	quebracho	estancias

### People to Identify

Francisco de Orellana	Charles Goodyear
Gaspar de Carvajal	Henry Wickham

### Learning through Discussion

1. What is the meaning of "geopolitics"? Can you give an example of its importance in the Western Hemisphere?
2. What point is considered to be the heart of the defense of the Western Hemisphere? In 1940 what step did the United States take to protect it from the east?
3. Why did the Galápagos Islands suddenly become important in 1940-1942?
4. Why did United States cruisers begin to patrol Cabo Este in 1939?
5. Explain the meaning of this statement: "The Caribbean is to the American continent what the Mediterranean is to Europe."
6. Why is the bulk of the population of the west coast of South America found in the altiplano?
7. What is the Peru Current? How does it contribute to the nitrate deposits of Chile and the guano deposits on Peru's islands?
8. To what part of the United States are the pampas most similar? Why?
9. Tell the part played in the story of Brazilian rubber by each of the following: Orellana, Goodyear, Henry Wickham, and Henry Ford.
10. What indications are there that the Amazon Valley may become an area of population and prosperity in the future?



### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. On an outline map of the Western Hemisphere locate: Panama Canal, Puerto Rico, Cape São Roque (and Natal), San Fernando Island, Cabo Este, Falkland Islands, Strait of Magellan, Juan Fernández Islands, Galápagos Islands.
2. On a large scale outline map of the Caribbean area name and color the American, British, French, and Dutch colonial possessions. Indicate the location of United States military bases.
3. Draw an outline map of the Amazon River basin, indicating and naming the important tributaries. Locate Marajo, Manáos, Iquitos, Fordlandia.
4. Be able to point out on a wall map the twenty Latin-American republics and to name their capitals.
5. Make a line graph indicating the comparative altitude of one of the following:
  - (a) of Denver, Colorado, and the capitals of Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia
  - (b) of the highest mountain in North America with the highest mountain in South America
  - (c) of the Central Valley of Chile and the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys
  - (d) of Niagara Falls and Iguassú Falls
6. On an outline map of the Americas, draw in the boundaries of the forty-eight states of the United States and the twenty Latin-American republics. Next cut out the countries of Latin America and compare them with the states of the United States. You may find that some Latin-American countries resemble our States in shape as well as size.
7. Make a chart showing the population of the five largest cities of the United States as compared with the five largest cities of Latin America.

### Projects and Problems

1. Explain how the United States and Latin America are different in respect to
  1. mother country
  2. language
  3. religion
  4. race
  5. climate
  6. industries
  7. products
2. Compare the government of the United States with that of the Latin-American countries. Consider such topics as date of constitution; the chief executive, his term of office, how he is elected, his duties, his qualifications; the law-making bodies, how they are organized, their terms of office, and the systems of courts. Consult *The Statesman's Year-Book* and the encyclopedias in your library for this information.
3. Divide the class into two teams, and choose an announcer, an umpire, and a scorekeeper. As a member of each team comes to the map, the an-

nouncer will name a Latin-American city or country. The umpire will decide which of the two contestants has located the place first. The scorekeeper will keep a record of the score. Time will be saved if each pair of contestants will answer three questions when he takes his turn at the map.

4. An alphabet game may be played if the class schedule warrants it. One pupil should name something important about Latin America that begins with the letter "A" and make an important statement about it. The next pupil should name something beginning with the letter "B," and so on.

5. A "Believe-it-or-Not" program may be based on the collection of unusual facts about Latin America. Divide the class into two teams as for a spelling contest. Each pupil is "out" as soon as he fails to state an unusual fact. The teacher will act as umpire.

#### IV. TRANSPORTATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

One of the first things noticed by a visitor to a new country is the way the people get from one place to another. By observing the system of transportation within a country itself and facilities provided for travel to and from foreign lands, one can get certain indications concerning the social status of the inhabitants. The ease or the difficulty with which people can communicate with each other and with the outside world leads directly into the study of their economic conditions, their social progress, and the status of their educational organization.

##### TRANSPORTATION

Economic development has always been dependent upon transportation. The briefest glance at the physical features of Latin America suggests the fundamental problems involved in communications. The Andes form the longest and one of the highest mountain ranges in the world. They divide each country into high peaks and low valleys. The Central Railway of Venezuela from Caracas passes through eighty-seven tunnels in dropping down to the Valencia plain; the line from Guayaquil, Ecuador, reaches Quito only after scaling the divide at 11,481 feet; the Central Railway of Peru reaches a height of 15,680 feet within

one hundred and six miles of the sea after passing through sixty-five tunnels. Naturally, expansion of railway transportation has been most rapid in the level plains of Argentina, and it has made least progress in the west and north where mountains often run up the cost of construction to more than \$100,000 a mile.

Despite mountain barriers two transcontinental lines exist. The first railroad connecting the two oceans in South America was the Trans-Andean from Valparaiso, Chile, to Buenos Aires, Argentina, a distance of 886 miles. Recently a severe landslide washed out a section of the railroad, but traffic continues to move over this portion by means of buses and trucks. The other transcontinental line is from Buenos Aires through northern Argentina into Bolivia. From there three routes are available to reach the Pacific coast: one by way of Antofagasta, Chile; another by way of Arica, Chile; and a third by way of Mollendo, Peru, across Lake Titicaca, the highest lake in the world with steam navigation.

**River Transportation.** Here, at least, nature has contributed to the aid of transportation as far as South America is concerned. In the ten northern Latin-American countries, rivers are often too swollen in the



rainy season to assist greatly in carrying passengers or goods.

There are four great river systems in South America on which vessels ranging in size from the small canoe of the Indian to the great ocean liners carry manufactured goods to the interior and bring out rubber, cacao, and other tropical products. These are the systems of La Plata, the Amazon, the Orinoco, and the Magdalena. So extensive are these systems that with a comparatively few miles of overland travel one could go by boat, except for the rapids, from Buenos Aires to the mouth of the Orinoco, in Venezuela. The Amazon, of course, leads in the extent of navigable waterways, and ocean liners go regularly as far as Manáos and even to Iquitos, almost at the boundary of Ecuador, 2,500 miles from the Atlantic.

**Ocean Transportation.** The fact that a large part of the foreign trade of South America has been with Europe has caused a great development of ocean transportation service between the two continents. Until a few years before the first World War the only regular communication of any importance between South America and the outside world was by means of the ships that ran to European ports. It was customary for passengers bound for South America from the United States to go by way of Liverpool or Hamburg, and a great deal of freight was also routed by way of these ports. While this has now changed and the United States enjoys reasonably good service with South America, it is nevertheless true that in normal times transportation facilities are much better to and from Europe than to and from the United States.

**Highways.** It was not until the fifth Pan-American Conference held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, that the republics became sufficiently "highway conscious" to devote special attention at one of the official international assemblies to highway construction and motor transportation. At this conference provision was made for the discussion of Pan-American Highway construction and motor traffic problems and methods which might be adopted for their solution. Progress, particularly in recent years, has been rapid and well-nigh phenomenal. For example, Argentine highways open to traffic were reported at 137,000 miles in 1932. Six years later the total was 255,000 miles, a gain of 86 per cent.

The most interesting feature of road construction in the Americas is the project of a Pan-American Highway to extend from the United States in the north to Argentina and Chile in the south to connect all the countries of the Americas. The greatest progress in the construction of this road has been made in the section between Panama and the United States, known as the Inter-American Highway. The longest of the completed sections is the road between Laredo, Texas, and Mexico City, which was opened to traffic in July, 1936. Since then, thousands of American tourists have motored down to visit their Southern neighbors.

In South America this great highway extends through Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador. Beginning on the Atlantic Coast at La Guaira, it goes through Caracas, Bogotá, and Quito and comes to the Pacific at Guayaquil. Hugging the coast, the



*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

This section of the new Pan-American Highway, winding around the mountains of the State of Hidalgo, Mexico, shows how better means of transportation will promote the economic development of Latin America. When the highway has been completed according to the present plan, it will be a system of hard roads stretching all the way from Laredo, Texas, to Buenos Aires. The Pan American Union arranged and carried through the conferences in which each country agreed to help in the building of the highway.



road, according to plan, will go on to Lima. From there the route is through Bolivia and across the Argentine border to Buenos Aires. Spurs lead north to Rio de Janeiro and west to Santiago, Chile.

**Aviation.** Aviation has made extraordinary progress throughout the Americas. Probably no other region of the world is more "air-minded." This circumstance grew out of the difficulty experienced in many sections of the continent in providing other means of transportation. The airplane has made it possible to overcome these obstacles.

National airlines exist in nearly every country and, in addition, international services connect all the republics with one another and with the United States. The Pan American Airways extends from the United States to the islands of the West Indies, through Mexico and Central America, and down both the east and west coasts of South America, encircling the continent. This company entered the field in 1927 with the inauguration of the line between Havana, Cuba, and Key West, Florida. Since then it has experienced a steady growth and, in 1940, had over 41,000 miles of airlines in operation. With the inauguration of its trans-Atlantic and trans-Pacific services, Pan American Airways links the Americas with Europe and the Orient. The traveler can now go from New York to Buenos Aires in three days; by sea the trip takes almost three weeks. The airplane has also been of great value to the modern industries, and many formerly inaccessible regions are now being successfully exploited. South America is also in air communication

with Europe. Aircraft from Germany and France cross the south Atlantic from Africa to the easternmost point of Brazil, and then proceed down the coast, across the Andes, and up the west coast, thus placing these countries in close communication with the nations of Europe. Following the outbreak of war in Europe, in 1939, however, these lines were temporarily suspended, leaving a large part of its business to Pan American Airways and to the smaller national lines.

The new development of communication by means of the airplane and radio means that every previous idea of the tropics, of inaccessible interiors of unmapped boundaries, and lack of modern enterprise must be revised. An epidemic that in the old days would have wiped out a whole section of population in an isolated mountain pocket or tropical district is today checked in its incipience by these new uses of science. The radio tells the story of the outbreak of the epidemic. Before nightfall the airplane delivers the necessary serum or vaccine to the sufferers in the isolated village. Again the sugar crop of a West Indian island may be attacked by cane borers. Down in the Amazon jungle a group of scientists get the word. The "Amazon fly," recently discovered as the cane borer's mortal enemy, is hurried off by plane. He arrives fresh and hungry. The cane is saved!

Other miracles like the following are taking place. A strike on Puerto Rican docks cuts the island off from shipping. By airplane arrives a half ton of yeast and other medical necessities sufficient to supply every clinic in the island. A petroleum pump breaks down in the mountains of Colombia





*Photo from Black Star*

Because of the great distances between settlements and difficulties in land travel, aviation has risen to first rank as a means of transportation in South America. Freight as well as passengers and mail is carried on regular schedules.

Much loss of work and of profits follow. But a radiogram to the factory in Racine, Wisconsin, starts off by plane a four-hundred-pound, seven-foot crankshaft. It is delivered in three days, instead of in a month by ordinary transportation. Boundary questions have caused many a war in Latin America. Often the principal reason was that the mountains and tropical jungles prevented any mapping of these districts. Today the airplane and the high-powered camera are providing government offices for the first time with correct maps of even the most isolated and unapproachable sections of these countries. The League of Nations is suddenly confronted with the difficult problem of caring for refugees from Germany. By airplane its representative visits eleven Latin-American countries in forty-four days and confers in each capital with leading government and educational authorities. As a result, a hundred of the world's leading scientists, industrialists, and teachers are brought safely from Nazi Europe to free America, where they can continue to make their contribution to the world. A war breaks out in Europe. Representatives of American republics gather immediately by plane at Panama or at Rio de Janeiro to consider the fate of a continent. Thus the airplane, aided by the radio, is doing its part in transforming the continent. It will do much more after the war, with American nations like the United States, Brazil, and Mexico in possession of an immense number of aircraft and trained pilots. The problem of developing sufficient facilities in communication to carry the passengers and the freight, the mail

and the messages for the people of the twenty Southern countries, remains one of the most challenging of the future.

### SOCIAL PROGRESS

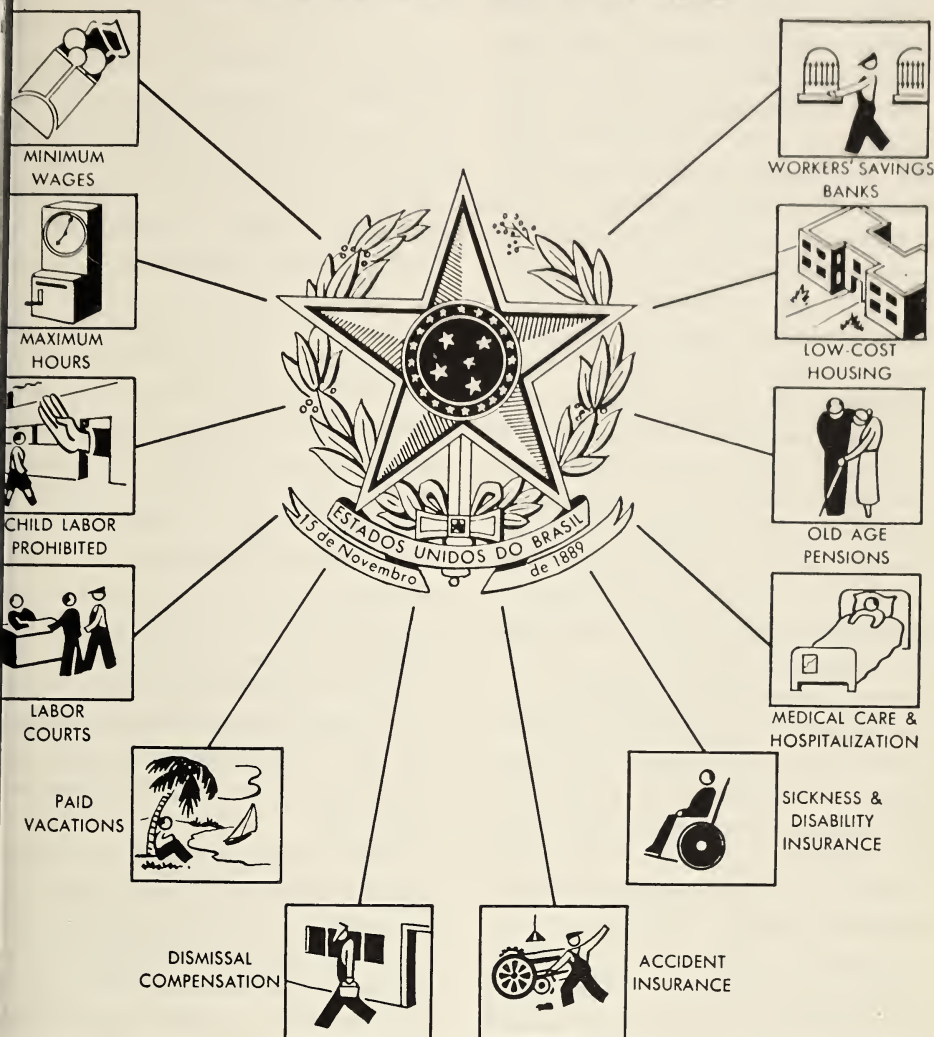
Social as well as economic awakening dates from the first World War. At that time there began the development of several social organizations. These were the labor movement, the student movement, the women's movement, organized social work, and progressive education. In some countries governments led in the development of these movements; in others the organizations were directed by individuals.

Social legislation came late in Latin America, but during the last ten or fifteen years this subject has received considerable attention. Simultaneously with industrialism came examination of the old ideas concerning labor and social justice, and the two forces began to work for new legislation even before the war. But the greatest advance has been made since the International Labor Office at Geneva inspired a deep interest in the subject.

In Brazil and Ecuador the most recent constitutions require labor, along with other social groups, to select representatives to the national legislative bodies. The federal departments of labor now almost universally desire to deal with labor through their official organizations. Labor groups have therefore taken a definite place in the legal system of Latin America—probably before they themselves are quite ready to occupy such a place. Despite its rapid growth, the labor movement has a long way to go before it will be



## SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN BRAZIL



*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

in a position to accelerate the development of well-rounded social legislation. In countries where political changes come so suddenly, organized labor, although small in numbers, has great opportunity to exercise powerful influence if it only knows its mind and is united. Only the development of a nationalistic spirit and moral

discipline can give it the strength it needs.

Recent constitutions have all provided for important social legislation. The provisions in these constitutions may be summarized as follows, although differing in details: (1) a reiteration of the right of labor to organize; (2) the freedom on the part of the worker to select the kind of



work desired and the protection of the worker; (3) the eight-hour day and weekly rest day; (4) the recognition of individual and collective contract as a medium of guaranteeing the rights of workers; (5) a minimum wage; (6) protection of women and children; (7) medical care of industrial workers; (8) accident insurance; (9) a system of social insurance. The present tendency is to empower the national congress to legislate on all labor questions in order to fix equal rights for laborers in all parts of the country.

**Social Insurance.** Social insurance began in Latin America some time before the Social Security Act was passed in the United States. For several decades retirement allowances have been the privilege of practically all petty officials and many private workers. Thus there have been certain compensations for low salaries.

Uruguay was the first to establish pensions. In 1919 these were provided for public-utility workers; to this group were added port workers (1922), journalists and printers (1928), and workers generally in commerce and industry (1929).

Compensation insurance in Brazil embraces six systems: public utility and railroad workers, seamen, bank employees, commercial employees, industrial workers, and stevedores. The Brazilian systems use their capital largely to build houses for their members. By the same process workers and commercial employees are providing themselves homes in a number of the Latin-American countries.

The countries of the west coast present a very different psychological and economic background from that of the east coast, and certainly very different from that of the United States.

The Indian populations have not been integrated into the governing and economic groups, but remain agricultural laborers, at times industrial slaves. Tropical disease, defective nutrition, primitive housing—all these mean low productivity on the part of the Indian worker. At the same time government income is insufficient to finance needed sanitation, education and social service.

It was in Chile that the vicious circle of the low wages, bad health, and insufficient government aid was first studied. The Chilean social-insurance law had its inception in 1925. Large parts of the reserves of the fund collected as a result of this law have been invested in projects for social welfare, such as workers' houses, purchase of land for model farm colonies, building of apartment houses, and a plant for pasteurizing milk. Drugs and standardized clothing are manufactured at a modest price and low-cost meals are provided through its restaurants.

**Health and Nutrition.** Public-health work is carried on largely by governments, aided by the co-operation of the famous Rockefeller Foundation. Latin America, with so much of its territory in the tropics, faces tremendous difficulties in keeping down disease. Progress is well demonstrated by new legislation, incorporating the latest developments in science, and by the reorganization of public-health services, including the recent creation of new ministries of public health in Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Attention is now given to the problem of proper diet for the people. New developments include studies of nutrition, ex-

extension of laboratory services, erection of health centers, training of public-health personnel, improvement of vital statistics, and the initiation of campaigns against diseases such as yellow fever, leprosy, and malaria.

**Sports.** An important part of the improvement of health of the people of these Southern republics has been the development of sports. The visitor to Rio de Janeiro twenty-five years ago found the inhabitants afraid of the water and of the air. The crowded beaches, where the population swims and plays, is in itself enough to have changed the health of the city. From a pesthole of yellow fever, plague, malaria, and tuberculosis, avoided by the rest of the world, it has become the mecca of the tourists of the world. In 1940 São Paulo dedicated one of the most complete stadiums in America, with arenas for all kinds of games, gymnasiums, swimming pools, amateur theaters, and many other appointments. In Mexico the goal posts for basketball have come to be, in far-away mountain villages as well as in crowded cities, the symbol of the social revolution. In Cuba and other sections of the Caribbean, the baseball park is being substituted for the bullring and the cockpit. In Buenos Aires sport clubs, with thousands of members, are social centers of a great majority of the young people. Some of the largest audiences in the world are found in the immense stadiums of Montevideo and Buenos Aires, where 25,000 people often come together to see a match of association football. Central America has developed inter-American Olympic games.

**Housing.** An important aspect of protective social legislation for the worker deals with housing conditions

both in the cities and in the country districts. Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile have extensive housing projects in their capital cities which visitors find of great interest.

Regular Pan-American conferences on housing are now periodically held in which housing projects for workers are carefully studied. At the beginning of the Pan-American housing movement to abolish slums and miserable hovels, unsanitary tenements, and disease-harboring shacks, only a general outline of the contemplated housing project was drawn up. Inspired by a sense of humanity and justice, the plans devised are eradicating bad and unhealthful housing—a cause for pauperism and spiritual degeneration among the poor.

Latin-American governments are beginning to realize that social peace cannot be attained except on a basis of equal justice and adequate prosperity for the laboring classes.

**The Women's Movement.** Women of Latin America followed the seclusive ideas of the women in Spain and North Africa for many years. In some sections today it is against the social custom for women to be seen on the streets alone, or for them to attend social events without chaperons. Participation in the discussion of public questions has also been regarded as outside of women's prerogatives. Following the first World War, however, there developed a marked women's movement in lands like Chile, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, and, more recently, in other countries. Schoolteachers, as a class, have been conspicuous in the development of women's activities in both the social and political realms, as they have been the most effective leaders in all social reforms.

**Progress in Education.** Following the first World War educational processes have been multiplied and modernized. Secondary education is ceasing to be regarded merely as the gateway to professional studies for a small privileged class. Such schools have come more and more under government control, and their curricula have been adjusted slowly to the elementary school and to local social conditions.

The importance of the kindergarten has been recognized. Summer camps have spread since first established by Argentina. The study of English has recently received great impetus, and is now required in practically every secondary school in Latin America.

The most striking changes have taken place in the field of rural education. Various countries have been experimenting with traveling schools, correspondence courses for teachers, and rural normal schools, calculated to surmount lack of communications and other handicaps.

Libraries and museums, formerly considered more as depositories than as public services, are now being reorganized by technicians, many of whom receive their training in the United States. Public health is also becoming more intimately connected with the national educational systems. Parent-teachers associations are influential in several countries. Adult education is slowly taking on major importance in Latin America.

**Fight for Democracy.** The new social conscience shown in Latin America has been the most important force opposed to the fifth-column activities of the European dictators. The reactionary groups among the politicians,

the landowners, and the military and the ecclesiastical hierarchy that have opposed progressive social movements have favored the influence of Nazism. On the other hand, labor and other social groups have united often to demand that their government cooperate with the democracies and oppose the Fascist elements. It is to the leaders in the social movement that we have been describing that like minded people in the United States may look for support in the fight for democracy.

We have now had our introductory visit to what is called, for want of a better term, Latin America. We have met the people, and most of us have no doubt begun to like them. We have found out the kind of races that unite to make these Southerners. We have wandered rapidly over the Caribbean, the Andes, the pampas, and the astounding Amazon Valley. We have glanced at their economic riches. We have seen them struggling with the big problem of transportation and glimpsed their future as indicated by new developments in air power and in social progress. We are now ready to go deeper. That means history. Friendship is never very deep, cooperation is never very sure, if it is based merely on the present. We must know what an individual or nation did in earlier life if we are to understand what is being done today or likely to happen tomorrow. This excursion into the past should be a delightful task, for we will meet many surprises and receive not a few thrills. We will try especially to become acquainted with some of the leading people in these southern lands.



### Words and Terms to Learn

organized labor	Pan-American Highway
social insurance	vital statistics
International Labor Office	

### Learning through Discussion

1. Why are the railways in Argentina much more developed than those in the Pacific nations, such as Peru?
2. The railway distance between New York and Chicago is 908 miles. How does this compare with the rail distance between Valparaiso and Buenos Aires?
3. Name the four great river systems of South America. Up the Mississippi River, shallow boats can travel as far as Minneapolis. How does this distance compare with that which ocean liners can ascend on the Amazon?
4. Before 1914, by what route would a person probably have traveled from New York City to Buenos Aires? Why?
5. When was the plan for a Pan-American Highway first adopted? If you drive southward from Mexico City on the completed highway, what important cities could you visit at the other end?
6. Compare the travel time from New York to Buenos Aires by air and by boat.
7. How did the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 affect the Pan American Airways in South America?
8. What do you think the prospect for aviation is in Latin America after the end of the war?
9. Give two examples of the development of sports in Latin America since about 1920.
10. Which four countries have been most active in improving housing conditions?
11. What profession has led in the women's movement in Latin America? Can you explain why?
12. What important change is occurring in secondary education in Latin America?
13. Why should improvements in rural education be more important even than those in urban education?
14. During the second World War, what was the attitude of the leaders in social reform toward Fascism?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map of Latin America trace, in blue crayon, the four great river systems. Mark the points at which the rivers and their tributaries cease to be navigable by river boats. Make a list of the chief cargoes carried by the river boats.
2. On your map locate the transcontinental railroads of South America. Indicate the terminals, the cities *en route*, and the height of the passes through the Andes Mountains. Name the two transcontinental lines.

3. Since so many sections of South America are served by air lines rather than by railroads, secure travel literature and maps from Pan American Airways and study the routes of regular air lines. On your map indicate where these air lines cross the Andes.

4. On an outline map of the world, show the main steamship lines which connect South American ports with the rest of the world.

5. On a map of the Western Hemisphere, show the Pan-American Highway. Indicate which part is now completed, and which part is planned for future construction.

### Projects and Problems

1. Pretend that you are traveling on the Central Railway of Venezuela from Caracas to the Valencia plain. Describe the scenery in a letter to a friend in the United States. If you prefer, you may describe instead an imaginary trip from Guayaquil, Ecuador, to Quito.

2. Plan itineraries for the following people:

(a) A schoolteacher who wishes to study at the University of Mexico during his vacation

(b) A machinery salesman who must return to New York in one month desires to cover as much of South America as possible

(c) A tourist from the United States who wishes to see as much as possible of Latin America in three months

3. Hold a panel discussion on one of the following subjects:

(a) Progressive Education in Mexico

(b) Women's Rights in Latin-American Countries

(c) Social Insurance in Latin-American Countries

4. Compare the dates of founding of Latin-American universities and universities of the United States. Arrange this information in time-line form by drawing a line down through the center of a sheet of blank paper. Divide the line into four equal parts. At one side of the sheet put 1500 and at the other put 1900. Place 1600, 1700, and 1800 at the three division points. Above the line record at the correct place the dates of founding of the Latin-American universities and below the lines those of the universities of the United States.

5. Compare a typical Latin-American meal with a typical meal of the United States. Perhaps you would like to try some Latin-American cookery. Two bulletins which may interest you, both of which are free, are *Mexican Cookery for American Homes*, Gebhardt Chile Powder Company, San Antonio, Texas; and *Kitchens from Many Lands*, H. J. Heinz Company Home Economics Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

6. Prepare a report on Latin-American sports and recreations. These terms may help you: *tlachtli* and *patolli* (two Aztec games), *jai-alai*, bullfighting, and cock fighting.

# A SMALL REFERENCE SHELF ON LATIN AMERICA

A small working shelf, in a handy, inviting place, containing the following books will afford information in addition to that in the text on all the topics and questions proposed throughout.

## Introduction

*Latin America, Its Place in World Life*, S. G. Inman, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1942 (contains 23 pages of annotated bibliography). \$3.75. (Cultural, social and historical analysis.)

## Economics

*Latin America, A Descriptive Survey*, W. L. Schurz, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1942. \$3.75.

## Geography

*Latin America*, Preston E. James, Odyssey Press, 1942. \$4.50. (Geographical approach; numerous maps.)

## History

*The People and Politics of Latin America*, M. W. Williams, Ginn & Company. \$4.60. (History from the human approach.)

## Literature

*Epic of Latin American Literature*, Arturo Torres-Rioseco, Oxford University Press, 1942. \$3.00.

## Leaders

*Builders of Latin America*, Stewart and Peterson, Harper & Brothers, 1942. \$1.94. (Brief biographies of great men.)

## Health

*Ambassadors in White*, C. M. Wilson, Holt, 1942. \$3.50. (The story of American tropical medicine.)

## Travel

*The South American Handbook*, H. W. Wilson Co., New York. \$1.00. Issued annually. Travel and trade information.

## Comparisons

*History of the Americas*, Herbert C. Bolton, Ginn & Co. \$2.80. Maps, outlines, and bibliographies showing similar developments of the United States and Latin-American countries.

## Headline Books

*The Good Neighbors*, Goetz and Fry, and *Look at Latin America*, Joan Raushenbush, Foreign Policy Association, New York. 25 cents each.

## Individual Countries

*American Nations Series*, twenty pamphlets, one on each Latin-American nation, giving essential facts and photographs. Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. \$1.00 for the twenty pamphlets.



## Reading Lists for Part One

## STORIES AND TRAVEL BOOKS

- Alegria, Ciro, *Broad and Alien Is the World*, Farrar and Rinehart, 1941. (A story of the Peruvian Indians.)
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*Hispanic-American Historical Review*, November, 1932. (Contains a list of articles relating to Latin America.)

*The Inter-American*, Washington, D. C. (A monthly containing up-to-date economic, political, and literary material.)

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## PART II

# *Background of a Continent*



## BACKGROUND OF A CONTINENT

*Thousands of years before the European came to live in America, the forerunners of the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas had advanced on the long road toward civilization. Every new discovery of the archeologists emphasizes the remarkable accomplishments of the early Americans. After the arrival of the white man the history of both North and South America followed the same pattern: a colonial period with a government imposed by the motherland; a struggle for independence; the setting up of separate republics; a long struggle toward democracy.*

*Racial and geographical differences impelled the development of Latin and North America along different lines. Lack of early unity in the South brought a long series of boundary disputes and wars between neighboring states. Lack of early preparation for democratic processes and difficulties in transportation and communication were likewise fundamental handicaps which acted as retarding influences in the development of the Southern nations.*

*The history of the twenty Latin-American republics is best studied through the lives of their great men. Only by an understanding of leaders like Sarmiento of Argentina, Juárez of Mexico, Balmaceda of Chile, and the great leaders of other lands can the significant events in nation building be understood. The battle between liberals and conservatives has been a constant one. National issues have often been confused by the interference of foreign nations. Each republic is rich in local tradition and offers special material in the study of the problems of democracy, as each builds with vigor and originality its own culture.*

## V. THE FIRST AMERICANS

The first time that many people had ever heard of the Aleutian Islands was when the Japanese attacked them during the second World War. Then it was realized how near Alaska and the northwestern part of the United States are to Asia and how easy it is for people to get from one continent to the other. The archeologists, who are the detectives of history, have for a long time been piecing together the facts of man's early existence in that section of the world. By bringing together all the separate evidence, the story has been reconstructed. Today these "detectives" think that most of the evidence points toward the fact that migrations coming from northeastern Asia moved across Bering Strait into Alaska. The same primitive Mongoloid stock that, thousands of years later, developed into the Chinese and Japanese in Asia developed in America into the Cherokees, the Pueblos, the Mayas, the Incas, and other groups which we now call "Indian."

**Four Early Groups.** This migration of early peoples to America began slowly and cautiously. Like the spread of the people from eastern United States to the great West, some groups were successful and some were not. Four different developments took place. The least progressive, the ones

that stuck to their nomadic hunting life, located in the extreme north, in the Great Plains region of North America, and in the extreme south of the new continent. To gain a living the second group mixed hunting and agriculture. These tribes occupied the eastern and central section of what is now the United States, the West Indies, and Brazil. The third group was composed of agriculturists. These tribes were scattered over the mountains and plateaus, on the backbone of the continent, from New Mexico in the north to Bolivia on the south. The fourth group had the highest culture. These Indians lived in two main centers, one in Mexico and northern Central America and the other in Peru and neighboring districts. These divisions should not be regarded as rigid, for such sharp classifications are never exact. But the four divisions will help us to understand that the Mayas, the Aztecs, and the Incas, to whom we here give our attention, are selected only because they represent the highest civilization among the early American peoples.

The first migrations from Asia into America probably began following the last glacial period, anywhere from 20,000 to 15,000 years ago. The first migrants were in a very primitive stage of development. Such accom-



plishments as agriculture, pottery making, weaving, and metal work were unknown to them. The dog was their only domestic animal. Real civilization began when the migrants stopped their wandering and became farmers. They then needed permanent homes, government, schools, and temples. The discovery and development of maize, or Indian corn, was the overwhelming influence in developing civilization in America. As a result of this staple food product, permanent homes, material wealth, leisure, fine architecture, community laws, and culture followed. The development of corn was really the basis of the New World civilization.

### THE MAYAS

The people who were among the first to develop a high civilization in America were the Mayas. The archeologists are united in regarding these people as among the most remarkable ever known in history. They reached the height of their development about 600 A.D. The ruins of their beautiful cities, located in Yucatán and Guatemala, are today the marvel of travelers and scientists.

(Their greatest contributions to progress were in the realms of architecture, mathematics, and astronomy. Their scientists knew enough astronomy to co-ordinate the lunar month with the solar year. They devised a calendar consisting of eighteen periods of twenty days each, with five additional days at the end. The formal inauguration of the perfected calendar of the Mayas took place in the city of Copán in what is now western Honduras in 580 B.C. This remarkable calendar functioned perfectly

without the loss of one day for more than 2,000 years. Dr. Herbert J. Spinden, the great archeologist, presents astronomical evidence from the ancient inscriptions to prove that "the time-counts of the Indians were carried forward logically and without a break from the inauguration of the perfected calendar in 580 B.C. until the *autos-da-fé* [decrees following the Inquisition] of Bishop Diego de Landa in Yucatán destroyed the collections of Mayan books nearly 2,150 years later (1561 A.D.)." Long before the people of Europe knew about the zero symbol, the Mayas were using this fundamental basis of all calculations.)

During the first six centuries of the Christian era an advanced civilization was built in northern Guatemala and Honduras. Here were developed some twenty-five important cities, each one the proud possessor of beautiful palaces, imposing temples, public monuments, and fine residences. These city-states were connected by splendid roads which were bordered with prosperous farms. This was the period of the First Empire.

For some strange reason—one of the great tragedies and mysteries of history—this empire fell apart. The people left their beautiful cities and moved to Yucatán. Some great plague like yellow fever, a devastating earthquake or flood, a great drought, conquest by a powerful enemy, or some other cause was responsible for this shift of population. From about 990 to 1200, the Mayas built what is known as the Second Empire, in which they again demonstrated to their neighbors a brilliant civilization. Their gorgeous cities dotted the Yu-



*Photo from Frederic Lewis*

This is one of the calendar stones carved by the ancient Mayas. In devising their calendar, they co-ordinated the lunar month with the solar year.

Yucatán Peninsula. The more vigorous and warlike dynasties from Mexico dominated their political life during this period. By the time the Spanish conquerors arrived, the Mayan civilization for a second time had gone into decay.

**Well-Planned Cities.** Careful planning went into the building of each city. The temple was usually the central structure. Ample squares and streets surrounded this temple and led to the various sections of the city. The houses of the rulers, the priests, and the principal people were built near the temple; toward the edge of the city lived the common people. Only the very great men lived in stone houses. The rest of the population

lived in small mud houses covered with thatched roofs. Some of the houses, those belonging to the wealthy people, were elaborately decorated with paintings.

But it was in their temples that the Mayas expressed their extraordinary sense of beauty. They built those structures almost always upon a mound, either natural or artificial. The typical Mayan temple was built on a series of earth terraces arranged in exact parallel order, the buildings themselves forming the sides of the square. The mounds were generally concealed by plaster or faced with stone. They never discovered the principle of the true arch. However, they overcame this difficulty by mak-



ing each course of masonry overhang the one beneath it. They delighted in decoration, and the ornamental façades of their temples are the most typical feature of their architecture.

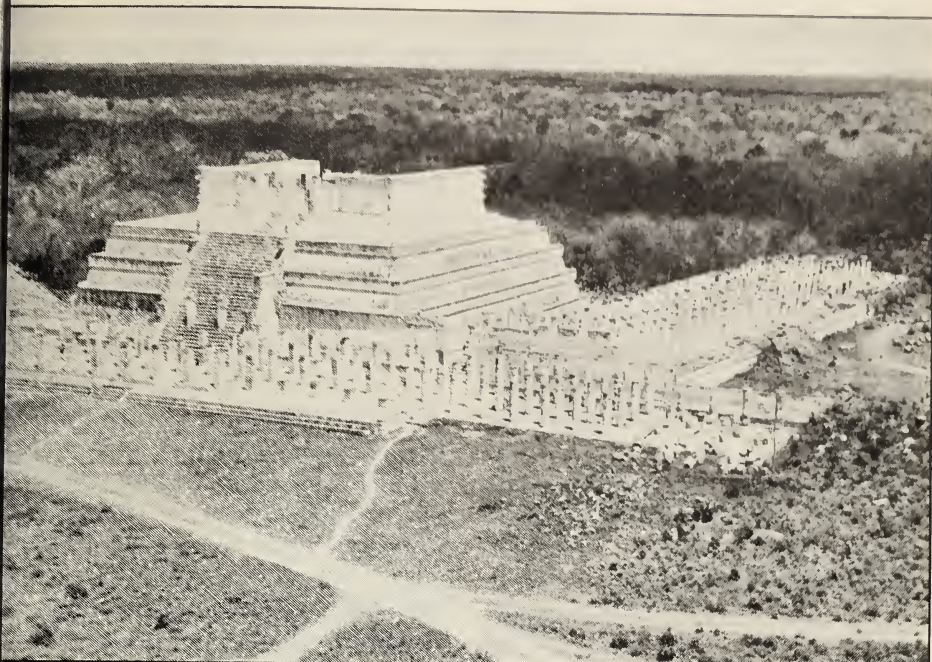
important is the building known as the "Palace," forming an irregular quadrilateral, with a double gallery surrounding an inner structure with a similar gallery and two courtyards.



One of the most famous of their cities was Palenque, in Chiapas. It was built in the form of an amphitheater nestling on the lowest slopes of the Cordilleras. Today there is a ring of ruined palaces and temples upon artificial terraces. The most

There are three subterranean apartments down a flight of stairs. In these apartments there are three great stone tables with sculptured symbols. All around there are many designs representing priests and priestesses. The "Temple of Inscriptions" is the largest





*Photo from Keystone View Co.*

The Temple of Warriors and the Hall of a Thousand Columns are examples of the fine architecture of the ancient Mayas recently uncovered in Yucatán. The Mayas were the Greeks of America.

edifice in Palenque. It has a façade 74 x 25 feet deep, forming a great gallery which runs along the entire front of the building. The many inscriptions justify the name given to this building.

At Izamál the colossal ruins include pyramids, tennis courts, and gigantic pillars which once supported immense galleries. One ruin is called "The House of Darkness," from the fact that no light enters the place save that which filters in by the open doorway. The vaulted roof is lost in lofty gloom.

At Chichén Itzá can be seen the ruins of a building known today as *El Castillo*, "The Castle," reached by a steep flight of steps. This was the most sacred temple and was dedicated

to the worship of Kulkulcan, the "plumed serpent" god. *Caracol*, or "Snail-Shell," is a spiral tower which was used as an astronomical observatory. The great Ball Court suggests our basketball courts, though built with stone walls and with carved rings set vertically high in the walls for "baskets." Less high and awe-inspiring, but far more challenging is the Hall of a Thousand Columns, set in a plaza surrounded by temples and colonnades. An edifice called the "Nunnery" is filled with gorgeous decorations.

The *Casa del Gobernador*, at Uxmál, is one of the most important buildings of the Mayas. It occupies three colossal terraces, and its friezes run in a line of 325 feet, divided into

panels. Copán, with its monolithic ruins, is one of the most interesting of the ancient Mayan cities.

**Art.** The Mayas showed their greatest artistic skill in the sculpturing of huge stone slabs which were erected all over their empire to mark the passage of time, or to commemorate great heroes or events. These columns were carved on two sides with figures of rulers, priests, and warriors. Often twenty feet in height and sometimes fronted with sacrificial altars, they undoubtedly had some religious significance. The carved lintels which were placed over the doorways of the temples show also the artistic ability of these ancient peoples. Most of them portray religious scenes in which figure the forms of their gods and priests.

The Mayas were expert at pottery making. Handicapped by not having invented the potter's wheel, they nevertheless made beautiful cylindrical vases, tripod dishes, and bottle-necked vessels. In textiles and gold and silver jewelry they also used their art patterns, most of which were simple geometric designs or decorative figures of serpents, jaguars, monkeys, and birds. Their art was a strong, vigorous, coherent expression of beauty.

**Everyday Life and Customs.** Early in the morning the women rose to their daily task of grinding maize into a fine meal to make the flat cakes which, then as now, formed the main article of food of the Mayas. Women wore hand-woven cotton skirts. The upper part of their bodies was covered with a light cotton blouse, often embroidered. Their hair was sometimes braided or twisted around their heads and adorned with ribbons

or flowers. Men dressed in a loincloth, wound several times around the waist. They also had cloaks which they tied about their shoulders. Both men and women wore sandals made out of rope or dried deerskin. They often tattooed their bodies.

At dawn the men arose and prepared for the day's work. They ate their morning meal alone, served by the women. Among the Mayas the men always ate alone. Then the men departed for the fields, salt mines, public works, or whatever their occupation might be. While the men worked, the women took care of the children. They might also weave and engage in other domestic crafts. Toward the evening the men returned, washed and changed into clean clothes, and ate their evening meal. After the meal they gathered outside their houses, squatting on the ground. They lighted perhaps a pipe of tobacco leaf and discussed the happenings of the day, rumors of distant wars, strange signs seen in the forest or in the sky, and the general gossip.

Maize was the staple food of the Mayas. When the time came to plant their crops toward the end of the dry season, the men went into the forest, selected a piece of land, and cut down the jungle growth. Before starting their work they prayed to the gods of the soil. When the corn began to grow, the Mayas went again to the fields and built altars to the maize god. At the time of the harvest some of the best grain was offered on the altars, and some was saved as seed for the next year. As the farmer went along breaking the ears of corn from the stalks, he murmured a prayer of thanks.



The Mayas also cultivated the sweet potato, the squash, beans, and the chili pepper. Chocolate drinking was indulged in by those who could afford it.

**Education.** The Mayas had large families. The birth of a son was always the occasion of many ceremonies to propitiate the deities and assure a happy future for the child. Four days after the birth a great feast was held. Miniature weaving and spinning implements were placed in the hands of the baby if a girl, and toy weapons if a boy. Long-winded speeches were made, the prospects of pain, suffering, and death being declaimed at great length by the speakers. From a very early age the child's training began. Boys of the better classes were handed over to the priests to be educated. They received instruction in history, traditions, religion, arts, and crafts.

At about twelve years of age, boys and girls underwent a ceremonial reception into the adult community. After that, the boys left home and went to live in a large house. At this age the girls were free to marry. The Mayas married very young, and marriages were arranged by the parents. The wedding ceremony was performed by priests with much ceremonial rejoicing. Immediately following the ceremony the newly wed couple went to live with the parents of the bride while their own house was being built. Polygamy was not practiced among the Mayas, and adultery was a very serious offense.

**Enthusiastic Ball Players.** The favorite game of the Mayas seems to have been *pok-ta-pok*, partly a religious ceremony and partly a sport.

It was played in a long court sometimes as large as 190 yards long by 40 wide, enclosed by high walls, and arranged in the form of two T's placed base to base. The two teams stood at each end and used a hard rubber ball. The object of the game was to drive the ball through one of two rings set high up, in the middle of each of the side walls. This required great skill. One of the rules of the game was that the ball had to be hit with the hips (some authorities say that it could also be hit with the hand). Betting was free and wild. So enthusiastic did the players become at times that some of them might be carried out of the court dead. The spectators yelled to their heart's satisfaction. When the ball passed through the stone ring, everyone made a dash for the gates, because the champion had the right to seize the cloaks and jewelry of the spectators. The winners received many honors and presents.

**Formal Entertainment.** The Mayas were very fond of dancing and entertaining. The nobles enjoyed feasting and frequently entertained each other at very elaborate banquets. Only the men attended these banquets. However, the women also had their own banquets, which were somewhat simpler than those which the men attended. Musical instruments, including flutes and drums, were played at the festivals.

**Religion.** Religion formed the most important part of Mayan life. At the head of the state was the priesthood, members of which were often the actual rulers. Since there was an abundance of rainfall in the area where they lived, many of the gods were connected with thunder, light-



ning, and rain. Although the Mayas did not believe in the resurrection of the body, they did believe in a life beyond the grave where each person would be rewarded or punished according to his actions while alive. The bodies of ordinary citizens were usually buried near their homes, and sometimes samples of grain and also their personal idols were placed with them in the graves. Cremation was the rule among members of the aristocracy and priesthood. Although the Mayas were a peaceful people, they engaged in occasional wars. They usually tried to capture, rather than to kill, their enemies. These captives—especially when of noble birth—might be sacrificed to the Mayan gods.

The high priest exercised a great influence over the people. He was never allowed to walk in public; instead he was carried on a litter. He showed himself to the masses only on the most important occasions. He advised the rulers, acted as oracle, and installed the subordinate priests. He taught the children of the nobles and wrote the sacred books. Other priests attended to the religious ceremonies, studied the sacred books, studied the skies, and interpreted the calendar. They were the intellectuals.

**City of the Sacred Well.** At the beginning of every year a great feast was held in honor of the god presiding over the year. There were four such gods, called year-bearers. Great multitudes participated in these feasts with dances, burning of incense, and offering of sacrifices. The blood of fowls was sacrificed and quantities of intoxicating beverages made of the juice of the maguey, from corn, and from honey were drunk. A great

festival-dance was also held in honor of the gods of the underworld. Many devout people pierced their ears and other parts of their bodies, gathered the blood upon pieces of cloth, and offered it to the gods. On special occasions a captive or slave would be bound to a scaffold and the warriors would dance around him, shooting their arrows at a white spot painted over his heart. When the nation was in danger through war, pestilence, or drought, people would gather from all parts of the empire at the sacred city of Chichén Itzá, to make special offerings to the Rain god. A beautiful flower-bedecked maiden was usually the willing victim. At daybreak the crowd would approach the sacred well in solemn procession carrying their offerings of jade, gold, beautiful vessels, and idols. They would stop at the little altar at the edge of the great circular wall, which was 150 feet in diameter and 70 feet to the water. After prayer and burning of incense they would throw their gifts into the well. Then the human sacrifice would be brought. When the music reached its highest pitch, the priests would catch hold of the victim and swing her in a great curve out in the air above the well. A splash and a huge cry went up to the gods for aid and mercy. The water closed over the victim. If by noon the maiden was still alive, she would be dragged out and honored as a goddess.

**Sources of Mayan History.** The history of the Mayas, as far as we know it today, has been gleaned from the study of the ruins of their architecture, from descriptions written by Spaniards after the conquest, and from two principal sets of records.

called the *Books of Chilán Balam* and the *Popul Vuh*. Both of these were written in Spanish script after the conquest. The first was written in Yucatán, in native idiom, by native scribes who had learned Spanish. The second was written in Quiché, a dialect of Guatemala, by a native who knew Spanish.

According to the legends contained in the *Chilán Balam* and the *Popul Vuh* books, the "first people" went to Guatemala and to Yucatán from the east in boats. They were known as the "People of the Serpent." At the end of each generation the Mayas moved to a new city. They built in all about 150 cities, which they named according to the most important incident occurring upon their arrival at the new site.

But the civilization of the Mayas was not to last. Yucatán was invaded by the Toltecs, fierce warriors who came from the Valley of Mexico. They plundered the Mayan cities and killed many people. This is what the old manuscripts call "the changing of the times." The most notable of the Toltecs who came to Yucatán was Quetzalcoatl, whose name in the Nahuatl language means the "Plumed Serpent." He brought his warriors from the Valley of Mexico and conquered the Mayas. He helped them form a federation of city-states, known as "The League of Mayapán." This league was made up of the four principal Mayan cities: Izamál, Uxmál, Chichén Itzá, and Mayapán.

**A Great Leader.** Quetzalcoatl was the first ruler of the Mayapán League. He is described as white-skinned, blue-eyed, and bearded. He preached peace and insisted that the Divinity wanted

only the offering of a contrite heart. He built great temples, encouraged the arts and sciences, and governed with justice and firmness. One day, after many years, he departed for Mexico from whence he had come. The Mayas called him Kulkulcan, and built a great temple at Chichén Itzá in his honor.

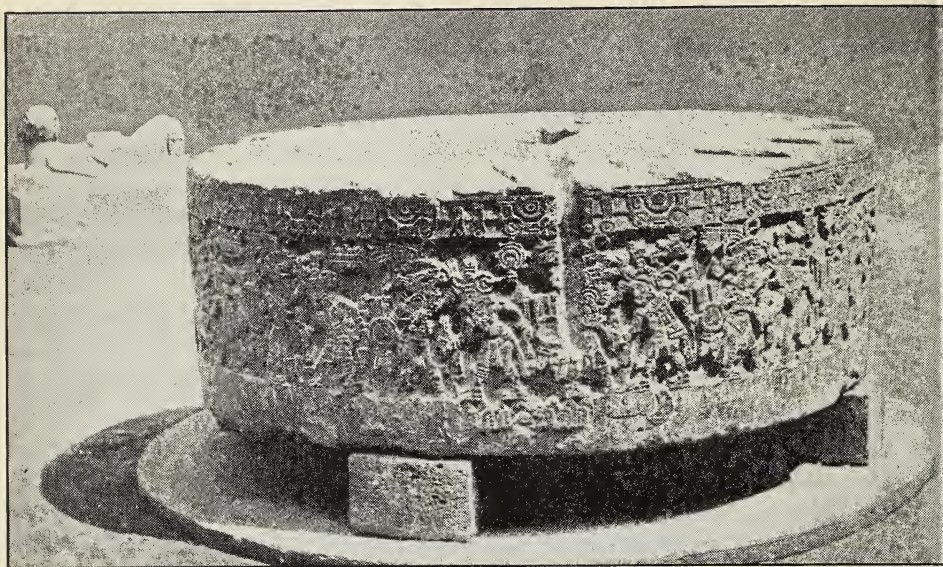
The Mayapán League declined after it lost its great leader. Other important tribes had developed in southern Mexico. The Zapotecs, who lived in what is now the State of Oaxaca, attained a high state of civilization, as was demonstrated by the most remarkable of recent archeological discoveries in Monte Albán. The most powerful people of the later period, when the Spaniards came to Mexico, were the well-known Aztecs.

#### THE AZTECS

The Aztecs were late comers from the north. They established themselves in about 1325 A.D. on the side of a shallow lake in Tenochtitlán, which is now known as the Valley of Mexico. They drained off the water from part of the lake and built an island city with canals, bridges, flower gardens, and temples. They were great warriors. Taking advantage of the divisions among the Toltecs and other tribes, the Aztecs soon became the dominant force in all southern and central Mexico.

**The Aztec Empire.** They excelled in politics, trade, and commerce. Tenochtitlán, their capital, was the center of a powerful trade system, with roads leading in all directions to the distant provinces. Commerce was protected by a huge standing army. Tribute was levied on conquered





*Photo from Keystone View Co.*

On this stone slab placed at the top of one of their temples, the Aztecs offered up war captives to the gods as human sacrifices.

tribes in all parts of the country. A strict system of laws protected the citizens from injustice, and crimes and disorder were severely suppressed. The death penalty was often exacted for such comparatively simple acts as becoming intoxicated or squandering family wealth.

Moctezuma (or Montezuma), the last of the Aztec kings, lived in great splendor. He surrounded himself with men of noble blood and was served by thousands of slaves. Beautiful gardens and menageries filled with rare birds and animals were maintained for his pleasure. He is said to have kept a group of one thousand slaves constantly at work cleaning and sweeping the streets of the city and scrubbing the walls of the palaces and temples until they shone with dazzling whiteness.

**Education.** From early childhood children were taught courtesy and

self-control. The advice given by an Aztec father when his sons left him to go out into the world is a good indication of this discipline:

Revere and salute thy elders and never show them any sign of contempt. Console the poor and unfortunate with kind words. Do not talk too much and never interrupt others. Eat not too fast and show no dislike if a dish displeases thee. When thou walkest, look whither thou goest, so thou mayest knock against no one. Live by thy work, for thou shalt be the happier therefor. Never lie. When thou tellest anyone what has been told thee, tell the simple truth and add nothing thereto. Be silent in regard to the faults thou seest in others.

**Religion.** One of the most outstanding features of the life of the Aztec was their barbarous religion. Each year the priests sacrificed thousands of human victims that had been captured in war. These victims were usually placed upon a stone slab, held



y several priests, and their hearts cut out of their living bodies. Before this was done, a ceremony was performed by which the Aztecs believed these victims were changed from men to gods. Thus, they were not killing men, but sacrificing lesser gods to those more powerful.

The suppression of surrounding tribes and the numerous wars waged for the purpose of obtaining human sacrifices weakened the Aztecs' hold on the country. Built on tribute, and held together by force, the empire was ripe for disintegration. Such conditions greatly favored the Spanish conqueror, Cortés. He, with his little force of some six hundred men, landed in Mexico in April, 1519. With the help of the enemies of Moctezuma, he soon conquered the land. Thus ended one of the great Indian civilizations in Mexico, as was soon to end the greater civilization of the Incas to the south. We now turn to a consideration of this remarkable empire, which had its capital in Cuzco, Peru.

### THE INCAS

As the Mayas have been called the Greeks of America, because of their beautiful art and architecture, the Incas have been likened to the Romans because of their ability to govern many peoples. The Inca Empire extended over much more territory than the Mayan Empire, for it reached from southern Colombia, down through Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia into northern Chile and Argentina. It was not an original civilization, like the Mayan, but a federation of many peoples, which reached the height of its development

about 600 years later than did the Mayan. When the Spaniards arrived in South America, the empire was still flourishing, although division had begun to undermine its strength. The early Spanish writers testify unanimously to the fact that the Incas had one of the most remarkable governments ever developed. Its unique quality was based on a powerful central government that controlled its millions of citizens through a communal system that guaranteed that every individual would have a piece of land and plenty to eat and to wear. Land was owned by the state and assigned to each family. Labor was performed for the benefit of the whole people. Responsibilities and opportunities were apportioned to all by the emperor, who was considered as a god.

**Size of the Empire.** The strong, Quechua-speaking people who organized the empire came from the eastern rim of the Andean plateau. They added to their own empire, one by one, the older civilizations that surrounded them. The Kingdom of Chan Chan in the north of Peru was one. The powerful Aymará people about Lake Titicaca was another. *Inca* was the name, not of a people, but of the ruling family or clan; the chief, or emperor, who ruled as the center of a rigid system was also known as the Inca. The diplomatic way in which one Inca introduced his rule over neighboring tribes is illustrated by his dealing with the inhabitants of Tucumán, now a northern province of Argentina. These ambitious, primitive tribes heard of the advanced culture of the Incas. Messengers were dispatched to Cuzco beg-

ging the Inca to count the people of Tucumán as among his subjects and to send them princes of the royal blood to teach them the arts, the language, and the religion of the Incas. The emperor granted the request. He likewise sent colonists among them, as was his custom in incorporating a new state. He appointed instructors to teach manual and agricultural arts, metal work, spinning, and weaving. In this way he won them to the Inca way of life and made the people much more loyal to him than his army could have done.

### **An Early Experiment in Socialism.**

The government of the Inca empire was autocratic in form but socialistic in spirit. A group of nobles ruled the empire under the absolute authority of the Inca. He was not only head of the government; he was also the commander of the army, the head of the priesthood, and the chief lawgiver. As the Inca was considered the direct descendant of the Sun god, he was revered and worshiped by his people. To question his will was to be guilty of blasphemy. Such a crime was punished by death.

The whole empire was managed as a single economic unit. All food, clothing, metals, and tools were distributed to the various classes of society, according to their occupations and respective needs. The farmers were given seeds and fertilizers, the craftsmen were provided with wool and cotton, and the precious metals were distributed among the artisans. The produce of the farmers was shared by the state, the church, and the individual.

Laws required that all able-bodied

individuals not otherwise employed should cultivate crops. Tracts of land were first set apart for the support of religion. Next came the land set apart for those not able to work for themselves. Then the workers were permitted to till their own land. Finally, the laborers cultivated the land set aside for the support of the imperial government. This was made a festive occasion, during which they sang songs in praise of the Inca as they worked. No favoritism was permitted. Individuals were given the products of their fields for their own use. As an insurance against famine every village had its storehouse filled with emergency supplies. Terraces were built on the steep mountain slopes, which were held in place with stone walls. Crops were planted upon these terraces, thus adding to the amount of food raised.

Graft was practically unknown. There was no leisure class, and there were no drudges. No healthy person might be idle; no one might beg. The necessities of life were provided for all. The weakness in the system was that it did not develop individual initiative. Though the upper classes enjoyed many privileges, the poor had little opportunity to rise, for they were expected to continue in the occupation of their fathers. Submission and obedience to his betters were the virtues of the common man. This internal situation enabled Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror, to gain a victory over the Inca and his empire with relative ease.

When a new province was added to the empire, it was not exploited or taxed unduly. Roads and fortresses were immediately built. The new





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

Above the city of Cuzco, one-time capital of the Inca Empire, is this ancient rock throne, from which the Inca emperor and his court watched athletic games and reviewed troop movements. The throne was carved out of one huge rock, probably by means of tools made of some kind of stone having a still harder surface. At the left are the ruins of the ancient fort.



land was thus united with the old. If population was sparse in the new province, whole blocks of people might be moved to the new territory to further the development of the land. The rulers of the provinces were known as *curasos*. They were given authority over numerous sub-officials who aided them. All bowed to the will of the chief Inca at Cuzco. Sometimes former leaders of the conquered provinces retained their power, but Inca nobles were assigned to help them as vice-governors. These kept a watchful eye over their leaders in case laws were passed which might be detrimental to the Inca. The magnificent road system enabled swift runners to carry messages to all parts of the empire. Relay houses were built at intervals of about two miles apart. In this way messages could be carried from Cuzco, Peru, to Quito, Ecuador, in eight days—a distance of 1,000 miles. If a faster way of communication was needed, the smoke of fires served as a telegraph. In this way rebellions could be quickly suppressed.

In the administration of justice the Inca rulers set an example of efficiency. All sections of the empire were regularly visited by high officials. Federal judges from Cuzco tried the more important cases, leaving the rest to the local officials. Death was the penalty for serious offenses—stealing being considered as very serious. Flogging was frequently used as a deterrent of crime. Fines were rarely imposed since private property was unknown. Laws were usually respected, for the Inca was considered a god. Cultural unity was achieved within the empire by forcing the in-

habitants to speak the official language, though native dialects might also be spoken.

**Religion.** The official religion of the Inca rulers was universally respected. Freedom was given to the local tribes to continue to worship their local gods, provided they were willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Sun god. The following is one of their beautiful prayers:

Lord of all lords,  
 Mine eyes fail me  
 For longing to see thee;  
 For the sole desire to know thee.  
 Might I behold thee,  
 Might I know thee,  
 Might I consider thee,  
 Might I understand thee.

At Cuzco the famous Temple to the Sun was located. Smaller temples were found scattered throughout the provinces. Rocks, sticks, lakes, stars and animals also served as objects of worship. Human sacrifices were strictly forbidden under severe penalties, but occasionally these laws were broken. Many religious festivals were held throughout the year, the greatest being that of the Feast of the Sun, in which the aristocratic class especially participated. Nine days of feasting followed days of fasting and purification. The Incas believed in the existence of life after death, a heavenly place for those who had been good and everlasting torture for sinners. Fair maidens entered convents to be nuns. There they were trained to spin and weave the sacrificial robes for the priests and to serve in the temples. Girls of unusual beauty might enter the harem of the Inca and his nobles, as a religious duty.

**Agriculture.** The chief occupation was farming. This was intensive and scientifically planned. Every inch of soil was used, and rich harvests resulted. In this work all members of the family had a part. The men plowed the fields. The women broke the clods and picked out the weeds. The children and old people helped, or everyone was required to do his share. The chief farm product was maize. It is interesting to note that the white potato was first produced in Peru. The chief foods of the people consisted of maize, potatoes, dried llama meat, *chicha*, a kind of beer made from corn, and a tea produced from the juice of the maguey plant. An intensive system of irrigation was used, the water being supplied by the mountain streams. Llamas were used as beasts of burden, as well as for meat and wool. The Incas were the only people in all America who domesticated animals.

Other occupations besides farming were fishing and hunting. The former was performed with the aid of hook and line, nets and harpoons. In hunting great organized drives for the capture of wild animals were held. In these drives the animals were either lassoed or else killed with stones and clubs.

**Art.** In the cultivation of the fine arts the Incas proved inferior to the standard set by their neighbors to the north, the Mayas. They were lacking in the fields of science and learning, for they had no efficient writing system. They kept accounts with the use of a series of knotted, colored strings, known as *quipus*. Being a practical people, they were more interested in the application of knowl-

edge than in abstract learning. In pottery making the Incas showed some skill, but their designs were apt to be standardized because individual initiative was discouraged. In textiles they made the greatest advance of all native Americans. The finest types of weaving and dyeing were achieved by these people. The cochineal bug furnished a rich, red dye which was profusely used in Indian textiles. Spinning was done by hand, and all women were required to participate in this occupation. In metal work the Inca artisan has never been surpassed. His intricately wrought ornaments of gold and silver have ever been a source of wonderment. Copper and bronze were used for tools. Gold and silver were used mainly for decorative purposes, as they possessed no monetary value.

The greatest example of artistry in the use of precious metals was the famous Temple of the Sun, at Cuzco. In this great edifice, gold, silver and copper were used lavishly. Gold leaf covered the walls, and golden images adorned the altars. In the royal palaces of the Inca and in those of his nobles the very household utensils were made of gold and silver. The gardens of the chief were adorned with gold and silver ornaments and figures of animals and plants of intricate design.

**The Incas as Builders.** Perhaps the genius of the Inca empire for organization and practical efficiency is most clearly shown in the work of engineering. Two great highways, one on the coast and one through the Andes, connected the vast empire from north to south. These highways were in turn connected by a series of





*Photo by James Sawden*

Suspension bridges and llamas as beasts of burden were found by Pizarro when he conquered Peru. They are still important in mountain transportation.

crossroads. Thus, communication and transportation were made easy between the interior and the coast. Roads were built at great heights over breath-taking precipices. Rivers were crossed by suspension bridges made of woven willow rods. Stone slabs served for crossings of the smaller streams. Steep precipices were scaled by galleries cut in the solid rock. Deep ravines were filled with stone and earth. Aqueducts were built with astounding skill, and magnificent temples were erected with the aid of brick and rock.

At the northern entrance of the capital, Cuzco, a gigantic fortress was erected. It required the work of 20,000 men, during a period of fifty years. Men were drafted by the state to do

this work. Many laborers perished in the arduous task of constructing this monumental piece of ancient architecture. A portion of this fortress is still standing.

**Social Customs.** People were required to engage in certain occupations by the state, according to their qualifications. All individuals were required to marry, boys at the age of twenty, girls at eighteen. Holiday were regularly held to celebrate weddings on a wholesale basis. Those who had reached marriageable age and who had not chosen their mate previously were required to choose them on this day. Otherwise a choice was made for them by the state. At the age of six the children, both girls and boys, came under the direction



of the state. They were trained for their future work according to their qualifications. If soldiers were needed for the army, the strongest boys were selected. Where farmers were needed, a certain number of youths were trained for this occupation.

At the age of sixteen the young men of noble blood became citizens. They had to pass a severe test which lasted nine days. This test included fasting and physical exercise, with ordeals to test their prowess and endurance. If successful in these tests, the youth was declared a citizen and was given the symbols of his new rank—the golden earrings and the loin cloth. If he failed to pass this test, he was considered forever disgraced by his fellows.

**Downfall through Division.** Such an empire was not destined to endure forever. In 1533 Pizarro completed his conquest of this vast domain with comparative ease, destroying forever the power of the Inca rulers. The seeds of disintegration had already been sown when Pizarro appeared on the scene. The empire was divided; two Incas contested for the supreme control. These two half-brothers, Huascar and Atahualpa, had fought a bloody civil war, as a result of which the empire had been greatly weakened. Pizarro treacherously invited Atahualpa to meet him in the great plaza of Cajamarca. After insulting and attacking the guard with strange guns and horses, which the Indians had never seen before, the Spaniards captured the emperor. The people were helpless without their leader. The treacherous murder of the Inca, after he had given the Spaniards a roomful of golden treasure

for his freedom, was the final blow. It led to the total destruction of the empire.

Most of the beautiful art treasures of Peru were destroyed by the conquerors in their mad scramble for wealth. Even the splendid roads and bridges were allowed to deteriorate. Thus passed into oblivion another one of the greatest peoples known to history.

#### LINK BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT

The great early American civilizations were supplanted by that of the Spaniards. But their descendants still inhabit the land. This is a fact of fundamental importance, which students of Latin America must constantly keep in mind. In Latin America there are some 20,000,000 pure Indians, with four times that many more who have Indian blood in their veins. The history and traditions of these early Americans still exert a powerful influence on life in Southern America. A foreign archeologist saw an Indian silently watching the white men digging up the ruins of a pre-Inca civilization. "What are you thinking?" asked the foreigner, "I am wondering how soon we will dig you up," replied the Indian. No one who expects to understand the Southern Americans will fail to give an important place to the Indian civilizations of the past and to the millions of Indians that today inhabit those lands.

The modern visitor to Latin America will find the work of these detectives of the scientific world, the archeologists, intensely interesting. Only twenty-eight miles from the City of Mexico, the traveler may view the





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

The Pyramid of the Sun at Teotihuacán, near Mexico City, is one of the most impressive remains of early Mexican civilization. It is two hundred ten feet high and covers eleven acres. Near it, in what was once a sacred city, is another large pyramid—the Pyramid of the Moon. The two are connected by the Avenue of the Dead.



so great Toltec Pyramids of the Sun and the Moon, which are as impressive as the pyramids of Egypt. Several hundred such pyramids, hidden in undergrowth and debris, are known to exist in Mexico. They only await the money and the skill of archeologists to divulge the secrets of the mighty past. The Inca ruins in and near the city of Cuzco fully reward the visitor who travels thousands of miles to see them. The ruins around Lake Titicaca, those in Ecuador, in Colombia, in Guatemala, and in numerous other sections offer a great challenge to those who would reveal further the inspiring history of early America.

Archeologists of the United States have proved themselves to be great contributors to inter-American friendship. Certain commercial and political exploiters may have given this country a bad name south of the Rio Grande. On the other hand, unselfish scientists like Hiram Bingham and Max Uhle in South America and Herbert J. Spinden and Silvanus Morley in Middle America have glorified the name of their native land by their labors among their Southern neighbors to show the glories of Maya, Inca, pre-Aztec, and other civilizations that began their development before Christ was born in Bethlehem.

**Contributions to Modern Culture.** In a summary of the great contribu-

tions that ancient America has made to civilization,<sup>1</sup> Dr. Spinden states that Mexico and Peru were conquered because of their high civilization, not in spite of it. They were more interested in the enjoyment of knowledge and beauty than in devising war machines. The development of such universally used products as Indian corn, the potato, the tomato, tobacco, and cotton testify to the importance of these people. They had also carried the arts of weaving and dyeing to a high point. The stone structures of these early Americans were remarkable for strength and beauty; and their roads, irrigation ditches, and terraces for the raising of crops on the mountainsides showed advanced development. The place-value of numerals and the use of the zero was known in America earlier than in most other parts of the world. In astronomical observations of the sun, moon, and stars these Indians showed remarkable advancement. Reverence for the gods, honor toward parents, loyalty to truth, honesty, chastity, and the solidarity of the community were the ideals of the Mayas and Incas and, to a lesser extent, of other American peoples. When the white man reads about these great contributions to history by the people in early America, he can no longer boast of being the sole leader of civilization in the Western World.

### Words and Terms to Learn

archeologist	<i>curasos</i>	<i>Chilan Balam</i>
pyramid	Toltec	Mayan calendar
friezes	<i>quipu</i>	pre-Inca
socialism	llamas	<i>Popul Vuh</i>

<sup>1</sup> *Forum*, August and September, 1925



### People to Identify

Mayas	Moctezuma	Kulkulcan
Toltecs	the Inca	Atahualpa
Quetzalcoatl	Aztecs	Zapotecs

### Learning through Discussion

1. What is the racial relationship between the Chinese and the Incas, and how do you account for it?
2. Classified according to their mode of life, what were the four groups of Indians in the Western Hemisphere before 1492?
3. Explain this statement: "The development of corn was really the basis of New World civilization."
4. Explain two important scientific discoveries of the Mayas.
5. Where did the Mayas move to in the early seventh century? What are some of the possible causes of this mysterious migration?
6. Describe a Mayan temple, naming two or three of its distinguishing characteristics.
7. Contrast the education of Mayan youth with your own. Point out at least four differences.
8. With what modern game would you compare the Mayan *pok-ta-pok*?
9. Compare the importance of the priests of the Mayas with that of our clergymen today.
10. What part does Quetzalcoatl play in the legendary history of the Mayas?
11. How did the Aztecs establish their capital city? About how old was this city when Cortés arrived?
12. Why was the Aztec religion considered barbarous?
13. Why are the Mayas called the Greeks, and the Incas the Romans, of America?
14. How did the Inca introduce his rule to new subject peoples, as illustrated by the treatment of those at Tucumán?
15. In what sense did the Incas have a "socialistic system"? What groups shared in the products of agriculture?
16. About how many miles a day could a messenger cover on the road from Cuzco to Quito? Was there any faster means of sending messages?
17. Compare the Inca religion with that of the Mayas and of the Aztecs pointing out important similarities and differences.
18. How did the Incas manage to have plenty of food, in spite of the mountainous country?
19. As scientists and artists, how were the Incas inferior to the Mayas? How superior to them?
20. Describe the system of "manpower mobilization" used by the Incas in their building projects.
21. Name three contributions to civilization derived from these early Indians from which you benefit almost every day.

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map locate as many of the early Indian peoples as possible, indicating the approximate date of the highest civilization attained by each.
2. On your outline map locate Bering Strait, Tierra del Fuego, Yucatán, Guatemala, Izamál, Uxmál, Chichén Itzá, Mayapán, Cuzco, Lake Titicaca, Quito, Tukumán, Tenochtitlán, and Palenque in Chiapas.

### Projects and Problems

1. Read up on one of the following topics (*Readers' Guide* will help you) and be prepared to make a report on it in class:
  - (a) Mayan and Aztec influence on our civilization today
  - (b) A comparison of Indian life today with Indian life of ancient times
  - (c) A description of the Sacsahuaman fortress at Cuzco and other buildings of the Incas.
  - (d) A comparison of Mayan civilization and Egyptian civilization
  - (e) The ancient handicrafts of the Indians
  - (f) The city of Chichén Itzá
  - (g) The treasures of Monte Albán
2. Make a two-column chart. In one column list plants and animals used by the Indians and later used by white men. In the other column list those introduced to America by the white man. You will need to do some library research in order to make your lists complete.
3. Write a fifteen-minute dramatic sketch dramatizing the meeting of Cortés and Moctezuma.

## VI. THE COLONIAL PERIOD

With the one exception of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the most far-reaching event in history was the discovery of America. The four hundred fiftieth anniversary of the discovery, celebrated October 12, 1942, came at a time when people realized, as never before, the importance of that great event. To this New World people from every section of the globe came to find a new freedom and new opportunity to build democratic institutions. The sudden discovery of an unknown continent gave the Old World the same kind of shock that we would receive today by establishing relations with the planet Mars. Reading the literature of that early day, we find that the amazed Europeans wondered if the laws of nature applied to the New World. Were the two-legged animals found running around naked and smoking a strange kind of weed to be classified as human beings? Did they possess intellects and souls? When fuller knowledge of the New World was gained, the great minds of the Old World began to see visions of liberty and happiness they had long since lost. It was then that the English writer, Sir Thomas Moore, was inspired to write his *Utopia*. The French essay-

ist, Montaigne, who as a boy eagerly read the exciting stories of the Conquest, wrote constantly of the new future assured humanity by America. The effect of the discovery on Spain was especially electric. The ambition of every citizen was to sail to the New World, conquer land for the king, convert heathens for his Church, and amass gold for himself.

The little island, which Columbus called Española,<sup>1</sup> with its capital Santo Domingo, became the first center, where gathered the explorers and conquistadors. There they planned their expeditions to the mainland. For that reason Santo Domingo proudly calls itself the "Cradle of America." It is the best spot on which to begin a study of the early life of the continent.

**The Cradle of America.** It was in Santo Domingo that Columbus made his first permanent settlement. Here he spent the happiest period of his life, though he was later enchained by his enemies and sent home in disgrace. To this city his bones were finally returned to rest in the fine cathedral erected in the Americas. It was in Santo Domingo that the first white man's colony of the New World and the first university in the

<sup>1</sup> The name *Hispaniola* has been adopted by the United States Geographic Board to apply to this island, now occupied by Haiti and the Dominican Republic.





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

The Columbus statue stands before the cathedral in Ciudad Trujillo (formerly called Santo Domingo), the capital of the Dominican Republic. The cathedral is one of the oldest buildings in the New World.

world were organized. It was in Santo Domingo that the first Christian sermons were preached, the first printed books sold, and the first blessings, as also the blights, of European civilization were introduced. It was from Santo Domingo that Cortés, a keeper of court records, set out by way of Cuba to conquer Moctezuma and to present to Spain the most marvelous of gifts ever received by any empire. It was in Santo Domingo that the Spaniards first came into contact with primitive America and learned of the further possibilities and problems of conquest which lured Balboa to discover the Pacific, Velásquez to colonize Cuba, Pizarro to conquer the Inca Empire, Ponce de León

to subdue Puerto Rico and to drive his keels to Florida in quest of the Fountain of Youth. There also the noted bishop, Padre de Las Casas, began his far-famed ministry of mercy to the Indians.

**The Conquistadors.** From the time that America was discovered until the defeat of the Invincible Armada, Spain was the greatest country in Europe. She felt the same exaltation as Greece did after the victory over Persia, or England did in the time of Queen Elizabeth. Her citizens who went to America lived in an exalted mood.

What a race of supermen the conquerors were! The pride of the hidalgo and the rigor of the ascetic,

rigid individualism and loyalty to king; audacity, courage, religious fervor, cruelty, streaks of nobility, with daring and more daring and energy incomparable—these were some of the characteristics of the most astounding type of human being the world has seen, the Spanish conquistador. To him the luxury of the court of a Moctezuma and an Atahualpa was dazzling in the extreme. He was captivated by an incomparable prospect of wealth and fame: "Since the days of the Queen of Sheba, no writer has ever stated that gold, silver, and jewels had ever been discovered in such vast quantities as those which Castile is about to receive from her new colonies," wrote an early chronicler.

Many a Spanish captain, before invading the Indies, had fought in Flanders, pillaged Rome, laid siege to the Moors, and imitated the exploits of Don Quixote. Therefore, barbarous conflict in unknown territory, savage Indians, mysterious forests, unending rivers and deserts had no terrors for the conquistadors.

**On to the Continent!** Enter now the first and greatest of all the conquistadors, Hernando Cortés. This fiery youth had expected to accompany Don Nicolás de Ovando to Santo Domingo. But that had been prevented by an injury received in an escapade the night before he intended to sail. Time was necessary for him to recuperate. Meanwhile Ovando had sailed away.

The young adventurer found another fleet likewise bound for Santo Domingo. On arriving there, he called immediately on his old friend, the governor. The latter was absent, but his secretary assured Cortés that he

could obtain a liberal grant of land. The reply of young Hernando was indicative of his character and his future: "But I came to get gold," he said, "not to till the soil like a peasant."

Cortés did, however, agree to take a grant of land with a *repartimiento* (an assignment of Indians to work for and be Christianized by a Spanish landlord). Also he was appointed a notary of the town of Azua. For some time he looked after his land, his Indians, and his accounts, continuing an indulgence in those amorous pursuits which he had learned in the sunny climes of Spain. He engaged in military expeditions along with Diego Velásquez, one of Ovando's lieutenants. When the former was appointed to settle the neighboring island of Cuba, Cortés accepted an invitation to accompany him. Though the two men did not agree, Velásquez was so impressed with the bravery of Cortés that he decided to appoint him as the head of an expedition to Mexico.

**Cortés Burns His Ships.** When Cortés landed in Veracruz, in April, 1519, he received reliable reports concerning the magnificence of the court of Moctezuma. He sent presents to the Aztec emperor and suggested a visit. "Sorry," answered Moctezuma, "but this cannot be permitted." This reply only whetted Don Hernando's appetite for a meal at the emperor's rich table. So he determined on one of the most daring marches in history, up over the snow-capped mountains to the sacred capital of the Aztecs, Tenochtitlán. When some of his men complained, he took the astounding measure of having his ships



turned. Forward was the only way left. His forces consisted of 600 Spaniards, ten bronze cannons, and most formidable of all, sixteen horses. The Indians, who had never seen horses before, were struck with terror by these strange beasts, which they regarded as supernatural. Ever alert to turn every trick, Cortés was able to make allies of the strong Tlascalan tribe, who were hostile to the Aztecs. Moctezuma, fearing that Cortés might be the white god, Quetzalcoatl, predicted by his forefathers to return some day, gave the Spaniards a doubtful welcome.

Earth has no greater thrill than that which Cortés and his men received in beholding the riches of the Aztec city. They were equally shocked as they witnessed the heathen sacrifice of human beings. Soon there began a series of incredible events, defeats and victories, delights and disappointments, which could take place only among such a combination of dare-devils and saints as were the conquistadors. Moctezuma was captured and held prisoner in his own capital. He was mortally wounded by his own people when they attacked the Spaniards. After many miraculous escapes the invaders were finally driven out of the city on the famous *noche triste*, the "sad night" of June 30, 1520. In endeavoring to escape from the sacred city, which was surrounded and crossed by numerous canals, the Spaniards and their Tlascalan allies were cut down by the hundreds.

A less resolute leader would have abandoned the whole expedition as hopeless. But not Cortés. He called his men together and made them a notable speech. Passing over the in-

solence and insubordination of many of them, he declared:

I am not unaware of the evils that you describe, but I believe that in all the world there is not such a company of Spanish men, so valiant, so full of hardihood, so enduring of privations. You would have perished long ago if you had not marched with harness on your backs, sword in hand, if you had not kept your watch, scouted for ambuscades, borne heat and cold. But, gentlemen, why should we talk of deeds of valor, when the Lord, our God, is pleased to help us?

By the end of 1520 Cortés began his campaign to retake the city. The Aztecs fought fiercely. At one time they captured fifty Spaniards and sacrificed them in plain view of their comrades. The siege of the city lasted for several months before it finally fell. One of the participants in the recapture of what was to be called Mexico City says of the battle: "It is true and I swear, amen, that all the lake and the houses and the barbicans were full of the bodies and heads of the dead men, and we could not walk except among the bodies and heads of dead Indians." Cortés also had to fight the Aztec tribes outside the city for several years before his power was safely established. Deciding to make this site his capital, he rebuilt the city within four years' time. The Spanish Empire had superseded the Aztec, and the civilization of the white man had occupied another outpost in its long battle for supremacy.

#### Adventures of Balboa and Pizarro.

Returning to Santo Domingo, we find Ojeda, the former governor, preparing an expedition to conquer northern South America in 1513. From among those clamoring for a place in the expedition 300 were



picked. Two applicants we notice especially. One was a tall, evil-eyed fellow, Francisco Pizarro, who had been a swineherd in Spain. In Santo

1500, engaged in a riotous life, and became deeply involved in debt. Balboa's creditors succeeded in preventing his departure, but afterward he



Routes of the conquistadors

Domingo he had been noted for anything but noble deeds. Another was a planter, by name Vasco Núñez de Balboa, a reckless soldier of fortune who arrived in the New World in

was able to join the group by accompanying a relief expedition, hidden in a barrel and put aboard with the cargo. The two leaders, Ojeda and Nicuesa, were soon supplanted and

net tragic deaths. But the escaped debtor pressed on to astound the world by the discovery of the Pacific Ocean, and the former swineherd launched out on that sea to open the new continent of South America to a dazzled Europe.

Pizarro set forth from Panama in December of 1531, with only 180 men, to conquer the great Inca Empire which stretched all the way from Ecuador on the north to the borders of Argentina on the south. This daring undertaking proved to be similar in many ways to that of Cortés. With the same spirit that led the latter to destroy his boats at Veracruz, Pizarro met the demands of the governor of Panama that the expedition return to the Isthmus. In one of the most thrilling scenes in history Pizarro drew a line and challenged all who chose Peru and riches to follow him. All who preferred Panama and poverty could return in the governor's ship. With the faint-hearted eliminated, the expedition moved on to incredible suffering and world-famous victory.

Arriving at Tumbez on the Gulf of Guayaquil the expedition found a remarkable center, with walls, temples, palaces, aqueducts, broad paved streets, and stone buildings. Men and women wore gay colors and all kinds of ornaments made of pure gold. Pizarro, learning that the ruler of the empire, Atahualpa, was encamped about 300 miles to the south of Tumbez, sent Hernando de Soto with a body of men to begin parleys. When Atahualpa was told that Pizarro desired to meet him as "a friend and brother," the Inca sent word that he would pay the Spaniards a visit. Re-

ports concerning these white-bearded strangers who had arrived from the sea, riding unearthly monsters and bearing weapons which belched fire like baby volcanoes, had reached the Inca. He was immensely impressed.

**The Inca Empire Falls.** The unsuspecting Atahualpa soon suffered the fate dealt out to Moctezuma. Cuzco, the rich capital of the empire, fell before the Spaniards, who then began an orgy of collecting gold. When the plunder was gone, Pizarro founded Lima, the "City of the Kings," to which he moved the capital in 1535. There the great conquistador, like most of his former companions, met death at the hands of his enemies. Lima became the capital of the Spanish possessions in South America. For 200 years it was regarded as one of the important cities of the world. Thus another outpost of European civilization had been planted by daring Spanish adventurers.

From Peru, Pizarro's rival, Almagro, led the way to Chile. Almagro's successor, Valdivia, settled the country and established the capital at Santiago. On the east coast the conquest was much slower. There was no gold to attract the Spaniards. Buenos Aires was first settled in 1536. But its inhabitants withdrew to the then-more-attractive location of Asunción, Paraguay. It was not until 1580 that a group set out to resettle the little village that is today the largest city of all Latin America.

#### PORTUGUESE BRAZIL

The conquest of Brazil by Portugal was by no means as swift or exciting as that of Spanish America. In the early colonial days Portugal

was more interested in the immense empire she was establishing in the East Indies. Brazil seemed to contain no precious metals. The indigenous inhabitants were small barbarian tribes that were in perpetual war. As a Brazilian historian says, "The whole history of Brazil of the sixteenth century may be contained in a few words." A little later the attempts of France and Holland to occupy Brazil forced a deeper interest on the part of Portugal. The French Huguenots, persecuted at home, founded a colony on an island in the bay of Rio de Janeiro in 1556 and in Maranhão and other coastal points a half century later. They failed, except in the section which is now known as French Guiana, because of the traitorous actions of their leader. The Dutch were more successful in their efforts to establish a Protestant Empire. From 1630 to 1654 the Dutch, with their capital at Recife, on the "bulge" nearest Africa, ruled over a stretch of territory comparable to that dominated by the Portuguese. With the exception of Dutch Guiana, Holland like France was finally expelled by Portugal.

How was it possible for a small country like Portugal to rule such an immense territory as Brazil? One reason is that the Portuguese coordinated their enterprise in Brazil with their African colony in Angola. From there they imported an enormous number of slaves which were an important part of Brazilian economy. The possession of the vast river system centering in the Amazon gave this little navigator nation a great advantage in controlling the vast expanses of Brazil. Toward the south

the rough adventurers, called *bandeirantes*, around São Paulo took the law in their own hands. By force and cruelty, with none of the restraints imposed on Spanish colonists, they killed off the wild, defenseless Indians and prepared the way for Portuguese dominance.

The Portuguese colonial system was much more simple than the Spanish. Dealing with a few barbarous tribes living in simple conditions, the Portuguese found no such complicated colonial problems as did the Spaniards. Brazilians who lived in the interior were likely to be remote from all authority. The Portuguese were naturally more easy-going than the Spaniards.

**The Buccaneers.** Not only in Brazil but in the Caribbean and other sections did Holland, France, and England attack the Iberian colonies. The great riches shipped from the New World to the mother countries aroused the jealousy of other countries. The plan adopted by Spain of the "fleet system" gave opportunity for her enemies to attack these ships and get away with the spoils. From thirty to ninety ships would sail together, convoyed by protecting galleons or naval vessels. Thus the rule that colonists could not trade with other nations was enforced. The colonies could trade only with each other by means of this fleet. The outgoing route, when supplies were carried, was from Seville or Cadiz to the ports of Habana, Cartagena, Puerto Bello, and Veracruz. On their return the same route was followed, the fleet carrying precious metals and other exports to Spain. Attacks on the fleet at first were by pirates, not



openly sponsored by their governments. But soon England began to regard such buccaneers with favor. The most famous of these, like Francis Drake and Henry Morgan, were knighted by the English Crown for their attacks on the Spanish. The buccaneers became as famous for their skill and bravery in robbing the Spaniards as had been the conquistadors when they despoiled the Indians. England became as excited over the reports of Hawkins, Drake, and Morgan as had Spain over the reports of Cortés and Pizarro. It was at this time that Great Britain acquired Jamaica and other West Indies islands. France and Holland had an equal number of highly picturesque sea robbers, who captured gold for themselves and islands for their sovereigns. A large romantic literature has grown up around the exploits of gentlemen bandits like Captain Kidd and Captain Blood. The exploits of these "brothers of the sea" did not entirely cease until the nineteenth century.

#### THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM

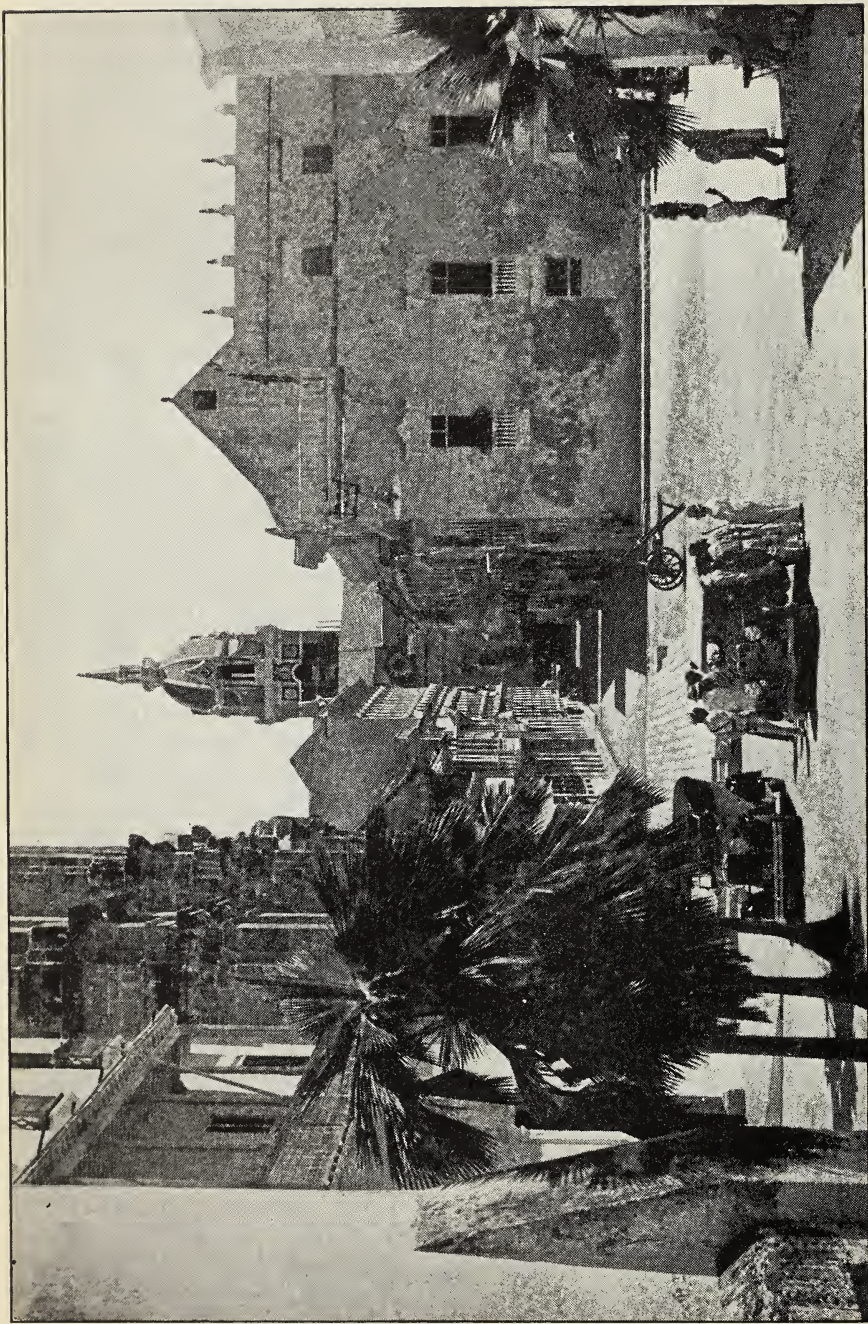
When the conquistadors finished their work, Spain found herself in possession of the largest empire of any nation in history. It extended from California in the north to the Strait of Magellan in the south. This meant the flow of great wealth from the colonies to the motherland. It is well to keep in mind, however, the fundamental place religion had in the movement. Enthusiasm for the Church endured the longest and influenced the conquered regions the most widely. Said Columbus: "What I value in this enterprise of the Indies is not reason, mathematics, nor world

maps; I would accomplish the vision of Isaiah.—In all the countries visited by your highnesses' ships," the admiral wrote on his third voyage, "I have caused a high cross to be fixed upon every headland."

The Spaniards were divided into two social classes, according as they had been born in Spain or in the colonies. The former enjoyed the royal favor and monopolized the higher offices in the Church as well. The religious imperialism of Charles V and Philip II was preserved by closing the ports against foreigners and their books, and by instituting the Inquisition to ferret out heresy. The Church was the real governor of the colony. It imposed sentences on viceroy and peons alike. It settled moral and social standards for high and low. It was the guardian of art and learning, the source of festivals, fairs, and processions which furnished healthy diversion for the people.

**Church and State.** The Church was thoroughly integrated as a part of Spanish character. Religion and the king, Church and state, were completely identified in the minds of the Spanish colonists. The state, however, had a surprising amount of authority in spiritual matters. Much of the narrowness and exclusion of that day were due to the king and not to the Pope. A special arrangement between the two authorities greatly limited the authority of the Holy Father in the American colonies. This agreement was the famous *patronato*, literally translated, "patronage." Among other privileges granted to the king of Spain, as the most faithful son of the Church, were the following: the direct ownership of the





*Photo from Philip D. Gendreau*

This square in Cartagena, Colombia, one of the first cities built by the Spaniards in South America, shows how the architecture of that day still persists in many cities. The spire of the old cathedral is seen in



land in the colonies, the nomination of all the higher clergy, the conversion of the Indians, the collection of the tithes which all the faithful must pay, the location and building of churches, and the determination of the boundaries of dioceses. The Pope had to send his official communications to the clergy in America through the king and no representatives of the Pope could go as visitors to the colonies without the approval of the king. The Crown often used its power for political rather than religious purposes. The *patronato* was a continuous cause of controversy between civil and religious authorities, which continued after the colonies had become republics.

The expeditions of the conquistadors were usually undertaken by the adventurers themselves rather than as state-assisted enterprises. Cortés, Pizarro, and the rest were in reality adventurers who came to America at their own risk and who supplied most of their own funds. The period of their activity, however, did not last long. The Spanish Crown, through its own agents, soon began to extend its authority to the lands of the New World. Both Cortés and Pizarro, when at the height of their power, had to give way and were eventually superseded by viceroys sent from Spain.

The age of the conquistadors, however, is not to be regarded as one merely of adventure. Indeed it was an age of creation—new cities, new churches, new universities, even a new race. In the northern part of America the colonists remained of relatively pure blood and ideals. But in the south the mixture of Europeans with Indians and Negroes brought forth a

new people, who produced poets, scholars, clerics, builders, administrators, and brilliant schemers.

Spain early began to colonize. She dispatched many emigrants on the regular line of sailing vessels then established, instructing all concerned in agricultural and commercial methods. A system of stimulating the country districts was inaugurated. Minor authorities were sent throughout the country to develop agriculture, erect forts which would assure safety, construct roads, provide regular means of communication with the capital, and in many ways to build up a social and political order that would guarantee progress.

In time the governments as well as individuals in the various colonies turned their attention from agricultural products to the securing of precious metals. Natives were forced to work the mines, while many regions adapted to agriculture were neglected. Immigration was restricted. The Spanish population was concentrated in cities, and the country divided into great estates granted by the Crown to the families of the conquistadors or to favorites at court.

**Colonial Policies.** The Spanish colonies were looked upon in the beginning as belonging to the Crown itself and not to the nation at large. This was certainly not democratic. But it meant that the Spanish sovereigns as a rule gave a certain amount of personal attention to colonial matters.

The affairs of the colonies were administered at first by the king and a very small group of his advisers. As the colonies expanded, they were put in charge of a large administrative





North and South America at the end of the eighteenth century

body, headed by the Council of the Indies. The council in the beginning limited itself to choosing from the laws of Spain such as would seem to fit the colonies; later it compiled all laws and decrees, and by 1680, a code known as the Laws of the Indies was published. The council also controlled the House of Trade, which had charge of all colonial commerce.

In the colonies themselves the direct representatives of the sovereign were the viceroys and captains-general. It was against these officials and their underlings that native insurrections were at times directed. The last serious uprising was directed by a descendant of the royal line of the Incas, Tupac Amaru. After a considerable struggle, he was seized and burned at the stake in the plaza at Cuzco. As a result of this uprising the Spanish Crown ordered a general investigation concerning conditions in the colonies, following which a system of checks and balances was adopted in order to have some officials watching others.

The first governing bodies in the colonies were local city councils called *cabildos*. These "town meetings" were the nearest to democracy of any of the elaborate government machinery later set up. These local groups had the right to send deputies to Spain. They also, in case of emergency, could summon an open meeting of civil and church authorities and leading citizens to discuss such questions as defense against the Indians. At times they even named a provisional governor. The viceroys, or governors, were the over-all officials. There were two of these in the early years, one in Mexico City and one in Lima. Later

they were also appointed for New Granada and Rio de la Plata. Their courts were rich and crowded with ceremony. Their authority came from the king. They were sometimes challenged by the archbishop. Quarrels between the two dignitaries at times threatened to disrupt the government. As a result a kind of court of appeal called the *audiencia* was established. Composed of distinguished Spanish lawyers, the *audiencia* had wide authority, sometimes even challenging a ruling of the viceroy. Governors were appointed for smaller districts to rule under the viceroy. The code known as the Laws of the Indies guided these officials. But the king was far away. Corruption was easy and was frequently practiced. When a new order from the Crown, called a *cédula*, arrived, the official often kissed it and murmured, "I obey, but I do not execute."

**Early Centers of Learning in America.** Conventional histories of swash-buckling conquistadors who came from Spain to America seeking only gold and adventure may blind many of us to the fact that with them arrived men of great learning. They were, as a rule, churchmen, who in those days were practically the only torchbearers of knowledge.

Hardly had these clergymen landed when they became instrumental in setting up institutions of learning. The earliest of these were, of course, founded in Hispaniola, the first island to be settled—the island on which today are found the Dominican Republic and Haiti. It was in the monastery of San Francisco de Santo Domingo that the first recorded school was started for sons of the pioneer



leaders. Later on promising sons of more humble parents were admitted. The three "R's" and the Catholic religion constituted the basis of the program of these schools.

**Colegios.** Then came the *colegios*, which somewhat resembled our own early academies. Active in these *colegios* were the Jesuits, although most of them were supported by the public treasury. The first European teachers in Mexico were Franciscan friars. They paid special attention to teaching the sons of *caciques* (Indian chieftains). Their purpose was to train these youths to serve as missionaries to their own people. A school founded in 1523 by Fray Pedro de Gante, a Franciscan, grew until it enrolled a thousand Indian boys, who learned reading, writing, and arithmetic along with arts and trades and Christian doctrine.

The first viceroy of Mexico, Antonio de Mendoza, in co-operation with Mexico's first archbishop, Juan de Zumárraga, founded the Colegio de Santa Cruz in 1536. There the Indian boys studied Latin, some of the more important native languages, philosophy, and medicine. The teachers were Franciscans.

**Universities.** Then there came the universities. Their purpose was to serve young men of the upper classes, who formerly had to be sent to Spain for higher training. These universities were extremely important, since much of the intellectual life of the Spanish-American colonies centered around them.

As early as 1538—a century before Harvard College was opened at Cambridge—the first university on the Western Hemisphere, that of Santo

Tomás (St. Thomas) was founded in Santo Domingo. Patronized by both Pope and king, it was a center of learning and missionary zeal for all of Spanish America. Its alumni spread far and wide, to Puerto Rico, Cuba, Mexico, even to Peru, in the same manner that the conquistadors themselves spread fan-wise to parts near and remote throughout America.

Since Santo Tomás did not remain open uninterruptedly, the honors of being the oldest universities in America go to the University of Mexico, at Mexico City, and to the University of San Marcos (St. Marks), at Lima, Peru. Both were founded in the same year, 1551. San Marcos was called into being by royal decree, along with the University of Mexico. These two institutions became famous in all the colonies of Spain as well as in the mother country. In addition to theology the course of study embraced civil and canon law, science, and the aboriginal languages.

**Poetic Contests.** A unique feature of the intellectual life of colonial Spanish America was the poetry contest. At one of these, held in Mexico in 1585, there were 300 entries. Some of the poems were written in Spanish, some in Latin, and some even in native tongues.

An outstanding literary light among writers of the time was the Mexican dramatist Juan Ruíz de Alarcón y Mendoza, who attained renown not only in Mexico but also in the mother country. He was the author of twenty-five plays.

**Sister Juana.** The most remarkable woman of Spanish colonial days was the Mexican nun, known to the world as Sor (Sister) Juana Inés de la Cruz





*Photo from Black Star*  
Lima is proud of the ancient University of San Marcos, which was founded in 1551, more than fifty years before the first permanent English settlement in North America. The University of Mexico was founded in the same year.

but born as Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez Cantillana. She first saw the light of day under the shadow of the far-famed mountain Popocatepetl, on November 12, 1651. Unbelievable as it may seem, she learned to read at the age of three. One day she followed to class an elder sister, who was taking reading lessons. There, seeing how her sister was learning the mysteries of the printed word, she was fascinated and became fired with the desire to read herself. She told the teacher that she, too, had been sent for reading lessons. It seemed unbelievable. But the teacher decided to humor the child. So three-year-old Juana was given reading lessons and learned remarkably well.

At the "advanced" age of seven she heard that there was a university in Mexico City. She immediately began to beg her mother to dress her as a boy so she could attend the university (Girls were not admitted as students.) Her mother did not give in; so little Juana had to quench her thirst for knowledge by avidly devouring her grandfather's books.

When she was eight years old, Juana started studying Latin. At the same age she composed a poem in praise of the Holy Sacrament. Her desire for knowledge was so great that she later wrote:

Such was the intensity of my thirst, that I cut off several inches of my hair, determined that if I had not learned such and such a thing by the time it had grown to its former length, I would punish myself by cutting it off again. And so it happened, for I had not yet learned what I had proposed, and I cut my hair again in punishment for my stupidity, because it seemed to me that a head so bare of learning should not be adorned by hair.

Not to be sidetracked in her desire to attend the university, Juana finally persuaded the viceroy, whose wife she had attended at court, to give her a test. She was then only in her seventeenth year, yet she was unafraid as she faced forty men—professors and other scholars—among whom were some of the most outstanding philosophers, theologians, and poets of the country. Each hurled at her questions in his own special field. Young Juana made such a good showing that the viceroy was later moved to compare the scene with a battle in which a royal galleon defends itself against the attack of a host of small boats.

Juana had not only an unusually brilliant mind; she also possessed outstanding beauty. As one writer aptly said, "She was tormented for her wit and pursued for her beauty." After a love affair, of which not much is known, she foreswore the outer world and entered the Convent of San Gerónimo. Her nun's cell was soon converted into a busy study. At one time she had as many as 4,000 books in it. This caused her superiors no end of worry, and at last she decided to sell them. Soon thereafter, at the age of forty-six, she died in an epidemic, but not before having established herself as "Mexico's Tenth Muse." She left behind a large collection of inspiring poems.

**Limitations of the System.** The Spanish colonial system was the most elaborate ever developed. It was devised to aid the Indians as well as the colonists. Naturally the practical administration of such a complicated system across distant seas gave opportunity for many abuses. The two greatest objections to the system had



to do with finance and free thought. Financially, the colonies were run for the benefit of the Crown. One fifth of all the production of the mines and pearl fisheries had to be set aside for the king. The colonies could trade with only one city in Spain. They could not even trade among themselves or with any but the single designated Spanish city. Buenos Aires, for example, must ship its exports over the Andes to Lima, then up to Panama City, and across the Isthmus, where the cargo had to wait for the semiannual convoy which carried the goods to Seville. A House of Trade was located in Seville to supervise this complicated system. This encouraged dissatisfaction, graft, sabotage, and smuggling. One authority estimated that half of the goods coming to the colony entered illegally.

Spain also endeavored to keep the minds of her colonists from trading with the outside world. Visitors and books from other countries were strictly forbidden. Even the Pope himself had to send his orders through the Spanish Crown. Not only was religious heresy forbidden, but political heresy was just as rigorously excluded. The famous universities of Spanish America limited their teachings to subjects that were entirely in accordance with the teaching of the official church. High offices were reserved for Spaniards born in Spain; their children born in America, who might be less orthodox in thought, were not allowed to hold office. From these two restrictions rose most of the dissatisfaction felt by the Spanish colonists.

**Later Reforms.** Following the exalted events of the conquest and

organization in the sixteenth century, colonial life sank to a much duller existence in the seventeenth century. In 1700, Philip V came to the throne. He had new ideas. Under his rule France and England were given permission to trade with colonial ports. The ports of call of Spanish ships were no longer limited to Seville and Cadiz. Another king, Charles III (1759-1788), even allowed the colonists to do restricted trading among themselves. Business picked up. New cities were founded, and new mines were opened. But, alas for the Spanish court! new intellectual currents also began to make themselves felt in the Spanish-American colonies. Medievalism was definitely coming to an end. Long works abounding in glowing descriptions of the world to come began to give way to writings which showed concern rather for man's condition here on earth.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America in 1767, the religious orders which had been allowed to remain gradually lost their original militant zeal. Instead of keeping up with the progress being made at that time in scientific investigations and other realms of worldly knowledge, they fell behind and in some instances even opposed the introduction of such knowledge into the Spanish colonies. As a result they lost much of their former influence, as intellectuals began to gather around certain leaders who opened the way to the new ideas.

Outstanding among these was Antonio Nariño, a native of Bogotá, who was a student of philosophy, jurisprudence, and modern languages. He had a large library of books imported



from Europe, and the studious young men of Bogotá gathered about him. Nariño adopted many of the progressive ideas emanating at that time from Europe and from the British colonies in America, which were just then forming into the United States of America. He was arrested for printing a Spanish translation of Paine's *The Rights of Man* and taken as a prisoner to be sent to Africa. However, he escaped at Cadiz and visited several European centers before returning to his native city. There he was again arrested and kept in prison until set free by the Revolution of 1810.

Nariño was just one of a number of far-seeing leaders of thought who were keenly aware of the new trends and saw the need for changing the functions of the universities to meet new conditions. They gathered around them groups of young men who, beginning as disciples of freedom in things intellectual, soon identified themselves likewise with the ideal of political freedom. Consciously or unconsciously, they were sowing seeds that were to yield a significant harvest in the years immediately to follow. They were building that intellectual background which was to be the foundation and main-spring in the struggle about to be undertaken by the Spanish colonies in America against the mother country.

#### SPANISH AND ENGLISH COLONIES COMPARED

The differences between conditions in Spanish and English colonial life are important for those who would understand the problems of inter-

American co-operation today. President Julio Roca of Argentina stated the situation as follows:

The genii that surrounded the cradle of Washington were not the same as presided at the advent of the South American democracies. The proud conquerors of iron mail who trod this part of America with rare notions of liberty and right, with absolute faith in the effect of brute force and violence, were very different from those Puritans who disembarked at Plymouth with no arms, but the Gospel, no other ambition than that of founding a new community under the law of love and equality. Hence the Latin republics stand in need of a greater amount of perseverance, judgment, and energy to work out their original sin and to assume those virtues which they did not inherit.

The Indians themselves had greatly varying traits. In the North they were wandering tribes and could not possibly have been converted into serfs to work for the white man. This meant small farms, which were a great contribution to self-government. In the South there developed great agricultural communities. As they took over the land, the Spaniards quite naturally took over the Indians as serfs. Thus were begun the great landed estates which have continued until today to be the great economic curse of Latin America.

Democracy in England began with the Magna Carta in 1215 and developed continuously among the English colonists. Roger Williams, by his protests, advanced separation of church and state, while the *patronato* in the South held the two rigidly together. Scarcity of labor in the North gave workingmen a freedom unknown in the South. Many political parties and religious faiths in the North led to

much debate and freedom of speech. In the South learning, literature, architecture, and educational institutions were advanced by a unified church and state. The colonial period in the North began a century later and closed a half century earlier than the one in Spanish America. This meant that reverence for overseas

authority and other mind-sets developed in the colonies were not nearly so fixed in the North as in the South.

As we turn to the struggle of the Southern colonies for independence, we shall find that, in spite of numerous differences, they were at one in their passion for liberty and in their sacrifices to attain democracy.

### Words and Terms to Learn

<i>repartimiento</i>	Inquisition	<i>cédula</i>
conquistadors	heresy	<i>colegio</i>
<i>noche triste</i>	viceroi	<i>cacique</i>
buccaneer	House of Trade	<i>patronato</i>
captain-general	<i>cabildos</i>	<i>bandeirantes</i>
ecclesiastical	<i>audiencia</i>	Council of the Indies

### People to Identify

Cortés	Ovando	Valdivia
Balboa	Tupac Amaru	Zumárraga
Velásquez	Ojeda	Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz
Pizarro	De Soto	Antonio Nariño
Ponce de León	Almagro	Antonio de Mendoza

### Learning through Discussion

1. Explain the reasons for this statement: "With the one exception of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, the most far-reaching event in history was the discovery of America."
2. Why was Santo Domingo called "the cradle of America"?
3. List the most important qualities of the conquistadors, giving an example of each one from the actions of the leaders.
4. Explain the importance of each of the following men during the colonial period: Cortés, Atahualpa, Moctezuma, Pizarro, Valdivia.
5. Explain how two nations besides Portugal tried to plant settlements in Brazil. What vestiges of their efforts still remain in South America?
6. What is meant by the phrase "religion and the king, church and state, were completely identified in the minds of the Spanish colonists"?
7. What part in colonial government was played by the Council of the Indies? the viceroy? the *cabildos*?
8. What two purposes of the *colegios* are illustrated by those established by Fray Pedro de Gante and Archbishop Zumárraga?
9. Compare the age of Harvard University with that of San Marcos University. How do you account for this difference?

10. If Juana Inés de Asbaje y Ramírez Cantillana were a seventeen-year-old girl in the United States today, how different do you think her career would be? Why?

11. What were the two most serious faults of the early Spanish colonial system?

12. What movement does Antonio Nariño symbolize?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map show:

- (a) Española, the "Cradle of America"
- (b) Cortés's route from Veracruz to Mexico City
- (c) Pizarro's route from Panama to Cuzco
- (d) The ports of call of the Spanish fleet: Habana, Cartagena, Puerto Bello, Veracruz

2. Be prepared to point out on a wall map:

- (a) The region occupied by the Tlascalans, Indian allies of Cortés against the Aztecs
- (b) The area comprising the Inca Empire

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a time line of the colonial period, listing the important events.

2. Select one of the following topics as a basis of comparison between the English colonies and the Spanish colonies:

1. Trade (Foreign and Domestic)
2. Kind of Government
3. Cultural Life—Education
4. Missionary Work among the Indians
5. Methods of Transportation
6. Products Brought by the Spanish Colonists
7. Products Brought by the English Colonists
8. Literature Read by the Colonists

3. Compare the Spanish conquistadors Cortés and Pizarro with the English buccaneers Drake and Morgan.

4. Pick out a topic from those listed in the outline below for special investigation.

A. Spanish Conquest of Mexico

1. Spain's reasons for colonization
2. Cortés's conquest of Mexico
  - a. Appraisal of Cortés
  - b. Difficulties of the conquest
  - c. Allies of Cortés

B. Government of New Spain

1. Viceroy—by whom appointed—his powers
2. Council of Indies—by whom appointed—its powers



3. *Audiencia*—by whom appointed—its powers
4. Immigration Laws in New Spain
5. Position of the church in New Spain
6. Treatment of the natives
  - a. Land question
  - b. Mines
  - c. Slavery
  - d. Religion
7. Spain's contribution to the New World
  - a. Universities
  - b. Hospitals
  - c. Roads
  - d. Architecture
  - e. Work of the early monks

## VII. MOVEMENT FOR INDEPENDENCE

Liberal ideas saturated the European and American atmosphere during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Europe writers like Rousseau, Voltaire, and John Locke had convinced the people that every individual had his own rights which could not be denied him by government. In Boston the English colonists were dumping tea into the sea because they would not suffer taxation without representation.

**Reforms Are Demanded.** In South America and Mexico the same kind of protests were taking place. In 1771 the revolt of the *comuneros* in Colombia and Paraguay happened for the same reason as the Boston Tea Party. Both were in protest against unjust taxes and other abuses of the home government. The inhabitants rushed the government offices and seized control. They organized municipal councils, called *comunes* after the French revolutionary bodies. They were so successful that they declared the independence of the whole colony and proclaimed a republic. Led by middle-class colonists, a number of Indians joined this movement. The clergy believed they should act as

mediators. The colonial authorities promised reforms. The rebels laid down their arms. Soon the government received military re-inforcement and broke the promises.

The Indians in Peru knew nothing of the French and the North American revolutions. But tradition had kept alive stories of the glory of the Inca Empire. A group revolted in 1781 against their employers on the big farms and the way in which they were forced to buy goods from the Spaniards.<sup>1</sup> After years of endeavor to secure a correction of some of these conditions, the heir of the Inca throne, Tupac Amaru, raised an army and fell on some of the large landowners in Upper Peru. The revolt was unsuccessful and he and his family were captured and executed. Revolts took place in various sections. Although they were generally unsuccessful, they secured some reforms. They also taught the people that they had power. A few months before the movement for the independence of Mexico started, a petition was addressed to the king of Spain describing the state of unrest in the colony. It went on record as follows:

<sup>1</sup> General Miller, an Englishman, who aided in the Independence movement, tells the story of a consignment of eyeglasses sent to the merchants of Lima. When these could not be sold, the local governor aided the merchants by issuing an order that no Indian should attend markets during certain festivals unless he wore spectacles.

This large body of inhabitants is without any property and most of them are without shelter; the people are really in an abject and miserable state, without settled habits and morality. What would be the result if these rival classes, these opposing and conflicting interests and passions, were arrayed one against the other in revolution?

It is no wonder that reforms were demanded. Conditions in Spanish America had grown worse and worse. A Chilean historian tells about the poverty and the miserable condition of the people. A few rode about in costly carriages and showed themselves at balls bedecked with gorgeous jewels. The common people lived in misery and some, in desperation, were driven to drink. In the country even the wealthy families enjoyed few comforts.

The only people in Spanish America who were satisfied with colonial conditions were the Spanish officials, the upper clergy, and the big landowners. Even the sons of a viceroy, if born in America, were not allowed to hold office. If one had any liberal tendencies, he did not like the prohibition of reading liberal books or the likelihood of being accused of heresy by the Inquisition (court established by the Church). If he was a merchant, he was disgusted with unjust taxes and the denial to engage in any business that a Spaniard desired to reserve for his own people. Life on the large estates was patriarchal if not outright feudal in character. Added to the spirit of liberty which mysteriously spread itself over America and Europe in the last quarter of the eighteenth century was the feeling of discontent in Spanish America because of numerous abuses of power exerted

by the Spaniards and the neglect of colonial rights on the part of the Spanish Crown. But Spanish colonists had much affection for the motherland. Something very unusual was necessary to arouse in them a desire strong enough to make them change completely their political system and their pattern of social life. Several things happened to encourage action for independence.

**American Union Club of London.** When the uprisings of the common people and the Indians were suppressed by the Spaniards, the intellectual classes took up the work of independence. In those days the leading families of South America sent their sons to Europe for education. As a part of their schooling they visited different capitals, especially Madrid, Paris, and London. In the British capital a remarkable organization, the Grand American Union Club, was established by the "Forerunner of the Revolution," Francisco Miranda. This stirring figure was born in Venezuela in 1756. He became a valiant knight of freedom, lending his keen sword to every group struggle against tyranny. Beginning his military career in the Spanish army when he was sixteen, he had a varied and dramatic career. He fought in the American Revolution, became an officer in the army of the French Republic, and traveled extensively in Austria, Italy, Turkey, Sweden, and Russia, always well received, always advocating liberty, always writing pamphlets on the subject. In 1805 he visited the United States to tell President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison about his plans for a revolution in South Amer-



ica. With 200 adventurous souls he sailed from New York in 1806 to deliver Venezuela from the Spaniards. His expedition failed to arouse the people of his native land, and he returned to England and his revolutionary club.

How interesting must have been the discussions of world politics in the Union Club! Well-known English liberals like Wilberforce, the anti-slavery advocate, Jeremy Bentham, the philosopher, and Joseph Lancaster, the educator (who later founded schools in South America), were members. The most important participants were the young South Americans who were later to lead in the actual fight for liberty—the fiery leader Simón Bolívar, the brilliant writer Andrés Bello of Venezuela, the solemn José de San Martín of Argentina, the dashing Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile, and the Colombian publisher Nariño. These and others discussed the principles of liberty with the British and made practical plans among themselves for setting their people free.

**Napoleon Starts a Revolution in America.** It was Napoleon Bonaparte who really started Miranda and other leaders into an active movement for independence. Otherwise, this movement might have been delayed for several years before plans were ready to be put into practice. Napoleon invaded Spain in 1808 and tricked Ferdinand VII into letting him put the emperor's brother, Joseph, on the throne. Spain was furious. Local *juntas*, or committees, were formed in every section of the country to govern until Ferdinand was restored to the throne. The colonies in Amer-

ica did the same, although most of the *juntas* in the colonies secretly hoped that this would result in permanent independence from the mother country.

Let us follow the story of Miranda's country, Venezuela, to see how the independence movement developed. One hot day in July, 1808, a bright young schoolteacher and writer by the name of Andrés Bello received a call from the Spanish governor to come to his office. The job given young Andrés was the translation of a marked article in the London *Times* which had been sent to the Spanish official by the governor of the neighboring English island of Trinidad. There was no particular hurry about the job, it seemed. But two days later, when beginning the translation Bello found himself deciphering the most important news of the century. He ran breathlessly to the government house and read hastily to the governor the astounding news of Napoleon's invasion of Spain and his plans to control her American colonies. It was only a few days after this that a French delegation arrived in Caracas demanding obedience to the new king, Joseph.

Rebellion was inevitable. A popular junta to govern Venezuela was established on April 19, 1810. One of its first acts was to appoint a commission of three to go to London to see whether aid could be secured from England in resisting Napoleon. Since England was at the time an ally of Spain, the commission was instructed to declare its loyalty to King Ferdinand and to keep away from the revolutionary firebrand, Francisco Miranda.

### LEADERS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE NORTH

The chairman of the commission sent to deal with the British was Luis López Méndez. He was not brilliant, but he was educated and had had considerable experience in public affairs. The other two members of the commission, Bello and Bolívar, were young men under thirty. Bello was serious-minded. At the age of eleven he had begun to write plays and poems. He taught himself English, on the chance that he might need it some day. This chance came when the memorable edition of the London *Times* was put into his hands. Since he became one of the great authors of Latin America, we shall tell the story of his life in the section on literature. Remaining in London for many years, he learned much about democracy from the English people. The last years of Bello's life were spent in Chile, where he was adviser to the government and a leader in education.

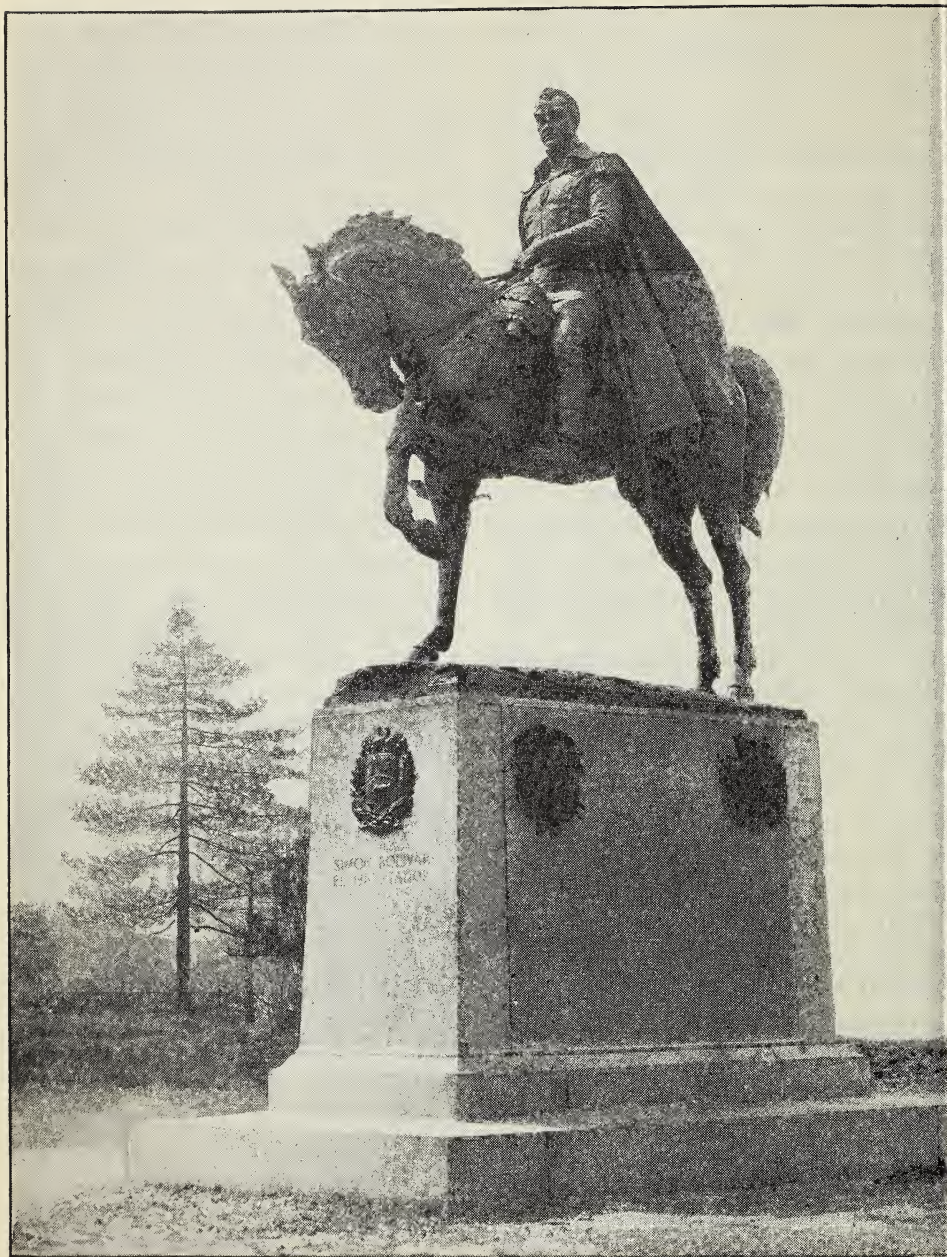
**Bolívar.** The leader of the group was the restless young Simón Bolívar. Only twenty-eight years of age, he had already been twice to Europe and had visited Mexico and the United States. He was born under fortune's smile, on July 24, 1783, in Caracas, Venezuela. His parents were rich and highly regarded members of society. On the day of his baptism he received a large farm, the rent of which would bring him 20,000 pesos a year. His father, a judge and colonel in the army, died when Simón was three years old. Six years later his mother passed away. He liked military exercises better than study. At fourteen

he was a lieutenant in the regiment in which his father had served.

When it came time for the young man to go to Madrid to finish his education, he was accompanied by his tutor, Simón Rodríguez. This strange man, who loved solitude and philosophy, had a lifelong influence on his pupil. On his way to Europe, the boat stopped at Veracruz. Bolívar took the opportunity to go to Mexico City, where he was received by the Spanish viceroy. But the young visitor expressed such warm approval of an uprising against government abuses that the viceroy advised that Bolívar be sent on to Spain immediately. "He has more of the exalted than the discreet," said the Mexican official. The dashing Bolívar was well received in Madrid. One day he was playing shuttle-cock with the future king, Ferdinand. When Bolívar accidentally struck the young prince with his racket, Ferdinand became angry and started to leave the field. But the queen compelled him to show his sportsmanship by playing out the game. Years later Bolívar wrote: "Who could have told Ferdinand VII that this accident was the prophecy that I would some day snatch from him the most precious jewel in his crown?"

Two years later, at the age of nineteen, Bolívar married the lovely María Teresa Rodríguez, daughter of the famous de Toro family of Madrid. The young couple, with high hopes, returned to Caracas and started house-keeping on the family estate. Bolívar settled down to enjoy the life of a country gentleman. However, Fate decreed differently. In a few months the fair María Teresa died during an





*Photo from Brown Brothers*

Few Americans have more statues erected to them than has Simón Bolívar the first advocate of an American league of nations. This statue in Central Park, New York City, shows his popularity in the United States.



pidemic of fever. Heartsick he set off again to Europe with his tutor, Rodríguez. They went to Paris, where Bolívar tried to drown his sorrow in drink and high society. He was invited to attend the coronation of Napoleon. Completely disgusted with that democrat turned royalist, Bolívar and his teacher left Paris, never to return. After a long walking trip the young idealist found himself on top of the hill of Aventino. As he looked down on the city of Rome, with its reminders of ancient glory, he stood erect, removed his hat, and in the presence of his teacher pronounced these words: "I swear before you and before the God of my fathers; I swear by my honor and by my native land, that I will give no rest to my arm or repose to my soul until I have broken the chains that oppress us through the will of Spain."

The young man had found himself! He returned to Venezuela by way of the United States, where he gathered fresh inspiration for his proposed work. Back in Caracas he organized his friends and awaited the day to strike. Napoleon's invasion of Spain was the signal.

With what impatience the three men chosen for the London mission paced the decks of the steamer *Wellington*, on which they slowly made their way to England! A hundred times they rehearsed their plans to win the British. But the job was harder than they thought. López Méndez and Bello settled down to the slow job of convincing the English officials. Not so Bolívar. In spite of contrary instructions, he looked up Miranda and his American Union Club in London.

Soon the old leader and the young enthusiast agreed that it was time to act. Miranda and Bolívar set out for their native land. By July 5, 1811, they had persuaded Venezuela to declare its independence from Spain. Soon a Spanish force under Monteverde attacked the patriots. On Holy Thursday, 1812, a terrific earthquake in Caracas killed 20,000 people and upset the whole nation. The claim of the clergy that this was divine punishment for rebellion against Spain aided in the defeat of the patriots. Miranda, as commander of the army, was accused by Bolívar and other young officers of having sold out to the Spaniards and of plotting to get away from the country with large funds. They arrested the old war horse at midnight and turned him over to the Spaniards. He never recovered his liberty. After years of suffering in dungeons in Puerto Rico and Spain he died, July 14, 1816, and was buried in a common grave. His sad end seems to have been a prediction of the tragic deaths that were to overtake practically every one of the liberal leaders. Whether or not Bolívar and his associates were justified in their action still remains a disputed point among historians.

Bolívar then made his way to Colombia, and offered his services to that country. He was allowed to head the troops that he organized, amounting to a few hundred only. With these he started toward Venezuela again to attack the Spaniards. From December 15, 1812, to December 17, 1819, he fought the foe, up and down Venezuela and Colombia. During the seven years of war he and his men suffered every kind of defeat and dis-

couragement. In 1816 he was driven completely out of South America and took refuge in Jamaica. In that dark hour, with would-be assassins dogging his path, most men would have given up the battle. But not Bolívar. While he was waiting for the tide to turn, he studied his problem. He wrote a remarkable letter to an English gentleman in which he prophesied almost exactly the course that each section of Spanish America would take. Aided by the generous president of the Negro Republic of Haiti, the Liberator returned to the attack in Venezuela. He now carried on his campaign in the back country near the Orinoco River. Here he trained his men, unbeknown even to his officers, for the most daring adventure of all—the march over the Andes. In this he was aided by newly arrived recruits from the British Foreign Legion.

The plainsmen knew nothing of life in the cold, lofty peaks of the Andes. Bolívar was everywhere at once, urging the men on higher and higher, through snow, over cliffs, until, three miles above the sea, they looked down on the green valley of Colombia. It must have seemed to them paradise itself. Two thirds of the army had perished and the survivors were only skin and bones. But after a few days' rest, they fell on the astounded Spaniards at Boyacá and drove them to the sea. Bolívar and his men entered Bogotá in triumph.

The union of Venezuela, Colombia, and the southern province of Quito (modern Ecuador) was decreed; it was called Great Colombia, or Grand Colombia. A great victory at Carabobo, June 24, 1821—unfortunately with the

loss of the flower of the British legion—gave Bolívar the opportunity to move South. A constitutional convention at Cúcuta, Venezuela, elected Bolívar president, and General Santander vice-president. Bolívar protested that he was a soldier and had no desire for office. He accepted however, on condition that Santander should assume the entire responsibility for government. At the same time he selected a cabinet and named ambassadors to Peru, Chile, and Buenos Aires. They were instructed to invite those governments to a Congress that was to be held later at Panama for the consideration of united America.

Filled with enthusiasm, Bolívar set out on his venture toward the South. His bravest and ablest commander, General Sucre, had gone on before and whipped the Spanish army on the side of the picturesque volcano Pichincha, near Quito. To make sure of the loyalty of the whole country the Liberator pushed on to the port city of Guayaquil. Here the most famous incident of the whole South American struggle for liberty took place. Bolívar met the great leader of the Southern armies, General San Martín of Argentina. Before we recount the meeting of these two leaders we must describe the development of the independence movement in the South.

#### THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT

Argentina led the southern movement for independence. The first struggle, strangely enough, was not against Spain but against England. In 1806, two years before Napoleon invaded Spain, a British expedition

coming from South Africa under the command of Sir Home Popham, captured Buenos Aires. The astonished citizens, abandoned by the frightened viceroy, secretly prepared their defense. In six weeks they turned the tables and defeated the English invaders. A year later General White, with a well-equipped army of 1000 British, returned to attack. Again the English were beaten. The citizens of Buenos Aires were surprised and delighted with their power. These initial victories gave them a confidence in themselves which they have never lost. The open trade with Britain initiated at that time has also been continuous.

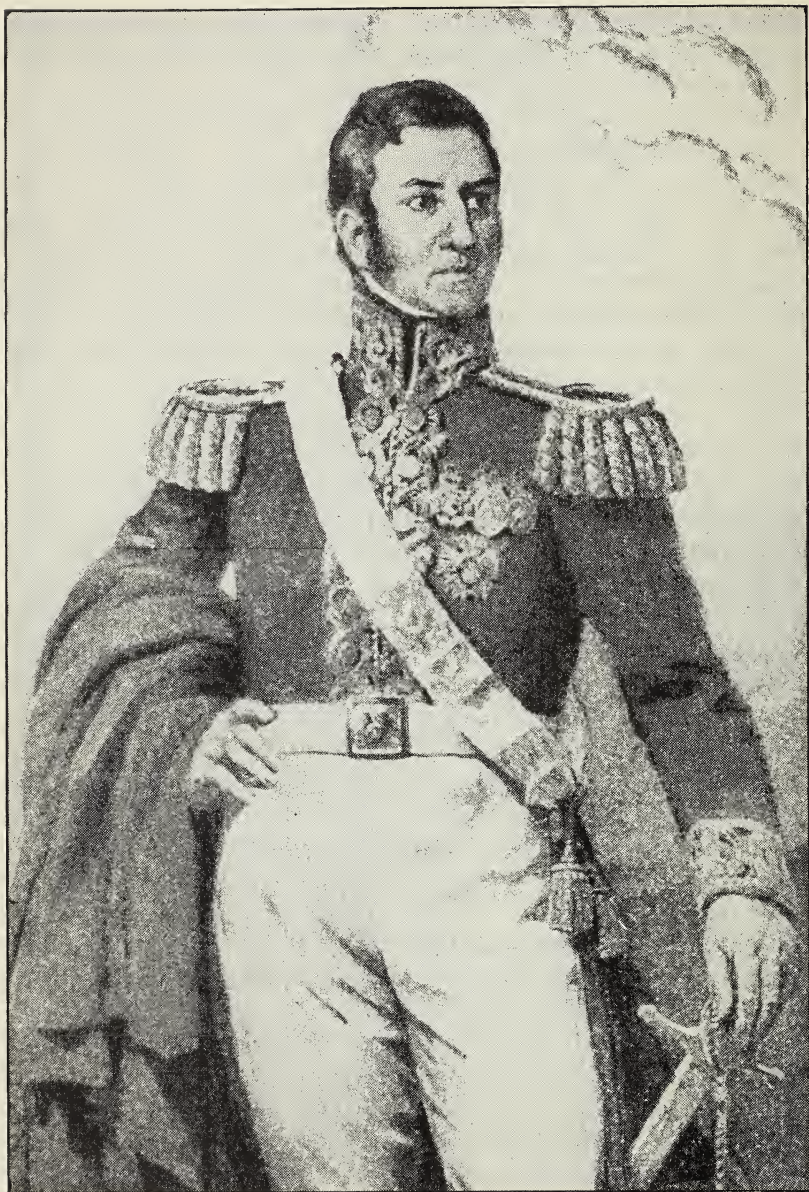
When Buenos Aires heard that the central Junta in Spain which deposed King Ferdinand was weakening, it decided, May 25, 1810, to establish its own junta and run its own affairs. This date is usually celebrated today as Argentine Independence Day, although six years were to pass before complete independence was declared on July 9, 1816. The leaders in Buenos Aires soon realized that setting up a local junta meant war against the royalist stronghold in Montevideo and in Lima. Their first move was to send the Argentine general, Belgrano, to Uruguay to ask that country to unite with them against the Spaniards. Uruguay, already under the sway of the famous Dr. Francia, accepted independence but declined union with Buenos Aires. After four years of fighting, Montevideo was captured from the Spanish. Belgrano at first was victorious in his campaign against the troops of the Peruvian viceroy in upper Peru, the region now known

as Bolivia. But later he was defeated. For years the two armies fought back and forth without any definite decision resulting.

**San Martín.** The stalemate of the war between Argentina and Peru was critically evaluated by the man who was to prove himself Argentina's greatest leader, General José de San Martín. Let us look at this man who shares with Simón Bolívar the honor of freeing South America from Spanish rule. He was born in 1778, five years before Bolívar, in one of the old Paraguayan missions where his father served as commander of the Spanish garrison. The family soon returned to Spain. At the early age of eleven he entered the royal army. He became a member of one of the secret societies organized by Miranda to promote South American independence. In 1812, when the newly born Argentina was defending itself against Spanish aggression, San Martín landed in Buenos Aires to offer his sword to his native land. As already indicated, his military eye quickly saw that the war was not a local but a continental struggle. To assure the liberation of the Río de la Plata, the Spaniards must be driven from their stronghold in Peru. The way to do that was first to free Chile, and then with her aid to attack Lima.

When San Martín asked to be stationed in the out-of-the-way town of Mendoza at the foot of the Andes, people could not understand the reason. Here this keen, experienced soldier began his quiet preparations for a far-reaching campaign. He trained his officers and men thoroughly, and manufactured his own equipment. At the beginning of 1817





*Photo from Black Star*

San Martín is the most beloved Argentine and ranks with Bolívar as a great liberator of South America. He showed his military genius and love of independence by freeing Chile and Peru as well as his own country.

San Martín was ready for his great venture. Besides his own well-trained, royal Argentines he counted on a number of Chileans, including the intrepid General O'Higgins. The passage of the Andes by San Martín, with his 5,000 soldiers, is reputed to be a greater feat than the crossing of the Alps by Napoleon. Carefully concealing his movements, he fell on the surprised royalists at Chacabuco and gave them a sound beating. The people of Buenos Aires and Santiago went wild with joy when they heard the news. Each of the two governments voted him high honors and sums of money. All this he refused, except when it could be used for the people. The second victory over the Spaniards was won at Maipú, April 5, 1818.

San Martín then made a journey across the mountains to Buenos Aires to consult the government about his desire to lead an expedition to Peru. With difficulty did he secure such permission. Before he could start north, Argentine authorities became greatly frightened at rumors of a huge Spanish army sailing to attack America. San Martín was ordered to bring his army home. He refused. His generals, who according to Argentine military law had much authority, backed their leader in his decision. One of the greatest naval fighters of the day, Lord Cochrane, an Englishman, appeared on the scene and carried, in ten transports, the Argentine-Chilean army of 5,000 to Pisco, near Lima. Cochrane won a victory over the Spanish navy at Callao. Excitement in South America ran as high as it did twelve decades later in North America, when United States

forces landed in Africa in the second World War.

San Martín, hampered by illness, hesitated to attack the larger enemy force in Lima. This led to quarrels between him, Cochrane, and some of the generals. San Martín waited for the Spanish army to move out of Lima. This it did on July 28, 1821, and the liberating army entered Lima. The independence of Peru was proclaimed by an immense crowd in the great central plaza. It was a wonderful day. San Martín wrote to his friend O'Higgins: "Peru is free. I now see before me the end of my public life and watch how I can leave this heavy charge in safe hands so that I may return to some quiet corner and live as a man should live."

A threatening army of Spanish veterans were still encamped at striking distance. With a small force and with unfortunate divisions in the ranks, San Martín concluded that the only way to strike the mortal blow was to secure the aid of the army of patriots resting temporarily at Guayaquil. So off he went to see Bolívar.

**Famous Interview at Guayaquil.** Seldom in history has the meeting of two great men attracted so much attention as the interview between the dashing Liberator of the North and the serious military leader of the South. Both of them came as heroes. But their characters were as different as the noonday sun and the threatening roar of thunder. Bolívar loved pomp. He was delighted at the gorgeous reception prepared for him and San Martín by the army, the citizens, and the distinguished women of Guayaquil. As for the Argentine general, very much at home on the battlefield,



he was ill at ease at a reception. When a beautiful young girl placed on his head a laurel wreath of pure gold, he blushed and removed the wreath, saying that he would keep it because of the patriotic sentiments it represented. Long after San Martín had retired from the brilliant ball that night, Bolívar was at the height of enjoyment, dancing with the elegant ladies of Guayaquil.

The discussion of the important problems facing South America was, as previously agreed, between the two generals only, with no one else present. What they said has been debated for a century. The results, however, make it fairly clear. There were evidently three important questions: How could the victory over the Spaniards be accomplished? Should the province of Quito be attached to Colombia or to Peru? What kind of government should these independent nations now establish, monarchy or republic?

The first question demanded an immediate answer. The royalists still had a strong army of veterans in Peru. No part of South America was safe until this force was conquered. San Martín offered to serve under Bolívar if the Liberator would bring his troops to Peru for a joint campaign. But Bolívar found excuses and declined to accept the honor. As for the province of Quito, Bolívar insisted that it already was a part of Colombia. In regard to the kind of government the colonists should choose, Bolívar favored the republic, with a lifetime presidency. San Martín believed that "it is not necessary to give the new nations the best laws, but those adapted to their character and their

education." He was definitely in favor of monarchy and wanted to invite European princes to rule the different American nations.

The two men, fundamentally different in character and in reasoning, found agreement impossible. Only one meeting was necessary to show this to San Martín, and he ordered his baggage packed and his ship made ready to carry him back to Lima. At the closing banquet to the two generals was given on the afternoon of July 27 by the attentive citizens of Guayaquil Bolívar arose and proposed a toast: "To the two greatest men of South America, General San Martín and myself." San Martín replied by a toast: "To the speedy conclusion of the war! To the reorganization of the new republics of the continent, and to the health of the Liberator!"

The failure of these two great men to agree was a prophecy of the divisions that were to continue after the winning of independence. The same lack of unity appeared between Washington and his generals and between statesmen like Jefferson and Hamilton. But in some way or other differences were always adjusted, and the thirteen colonies became one United States. The failure of South America to unite in those early days explains why today there are ten different republics in South America.

**San Martín Departs for Europe.** As the Argentine general sailed back to Lima, he was going over in his mind what he should do. Evidently Bolívar could come to the aid of Peru if San Martín were not in the way. Very well then; he would eliminate himself. He had won fame enough. His body was worn out by years of hard cam-



aigns. It would be a relief to get away from the squabbles of his generals and the aristocracy of Lima, who accused him of wanting to be a king. They would like the clever Bolívar better than the stoic Argentine (as San Martín called himself). No doubt Bolívar could conquer the remaining Spaniards. Yes, it was all very clear he would give up his command when he arrived at Lima and disappear from the scene. And so he did, thus making one of the greatest sacrifices a successful man was ever called upon to make.

On arrival at Lima San Martín learned that in his absence his most trusted minister had been driven out of the city. Confusion and division were present everywhere. This completed his decision. His resignation was placed in the hands of the first Peruvian Congress, September 20, 1822. He left for Chile immediately. After a few days with his old friend O'Higgins he crossed the mountains to Mendoza. He spent a few months in this town where he had gathered and trained his army. Returning to Argentina, he found that there, too, was confusion. He had no money, and he felt that his usefulness was past. In 1824 he took his only daughter and sailed for France. There he ended his life in poverty, August 17, 1850. Years afterwards Argentina recognized his greatness and removed his body to Buenos Aires, where it lies in the cathedral, blessed by a grateful nation.

"The Saint of the Sword," as an Argentine biographer calls San Martín, showed his great spirit in his farewell address in Lima, when he gave the reasons for his departure:

I have witnessed the declaration of the independence of the states of Chile and Peru. I hold in my hand the standard which Pizarro used to enslave the empire of the Incas. My promise to the countries for which I fought are fulfilled: to secure their independence and leave them to select their own governments. The presence of a fortunate soldier, however disinterested he may be, is dangerous to newly established states. Then, too, I am weary of hearing people say that I wish to make myself a monarch. Nevertheless I shall always be ready to make the last sacrifice for the liberty of this country, but only in the capacity of a private citizen. With regard to my public conduct, my compatriots, as in most affairs, will be divided in opinion. Their children will render a just verdict.

**Bolívar Goes to Lima.** Soon after San Martín left Lima, Bolívar arrived. He found the country in chaos. Two presidents were struggling for dominance, and a strong loyalist army was encamped in the interior. Bolívar was made dictator of Peru. But the cause of the patriots seemed to be about lost. "What shall we do?" cried Bolívar's lieutenant, Mosquera. "Forward and triumph," replied the Liberator. His plan of action was to shut the royalist army in the mountains, attack them there, and decide the whole issue. The best of all patriot generals, an intimate friend of Bolívar, Antonio José de Sucre, was given leadership. Other veteran generals included the Englishman Miller, the Argentine Necochea, and Carrión, Bolívar's war secretary. They found the superior Spanish forces near the mountain town of Junín. Nine hundred patriot cavalry decided on a daring charge. They were met by a superior force of royalist cavalry. The battle continued for an hour without a shot being fired, horse-

man against horseman, sword against sword. The infantry and artillery of both armies watched the terrific encounter, like entranced spectators at a rodeo in Madison Square Garden. Gradually the veteran patriots, though fewer in number, drove the Spaniards towards the hills and finally into full flight.

Four months after Junín, on December 9, 1824, Sucre again faced the Spaniards, almost twice as numerous. "On our efforts today hangs the future of all South America," Sucre told his soldiers as they entered the battle. When the day seemed lost, the impetuous young Colombian, General Córdova, rode out in front of his men, jumped off his horse, stuck his hat high on his sword, and called upon his men to follow. Such patriotism could not but win. Before the sun went down, the viceroy himself was a prisoner. He there and then recognized the independence of Peru and of all Spanish America!

**The Republic of Bolivia Is Born.** Bolívar remained in Lima from September 1, 1823, to September 4, 1826. Here he was raised to the status of a demi-god. He lived the life of an Oriental potentate. Always a great admirer of the ladies, here he was made their idol. He found the organization of peace much more difficult than carrying on campaigns in war. In 1825 he created, with the aid of Sucre, the Republic of Bolivia. The country was carved out of the northern section of Argentina and the southern part of Peru. Sucre accepted the presidency for a brief time, and Bolívar paid a visit to the new republic which had been named in his honor.

**Bolívar Returns to Colombia and to Defeat.** All this time the Liberator was president of Colombia and on a leave of absence from that republic. But there were many insistent calls that he return and try to organize that much-divided land. Before he finally returned, he made a triumphant journey through Peru to the Inca capital of Cuzco, and then on to the capital of Bolivia, named Sucre in honor of the general. Aristocrats and Indians alike bowed before him, strewn his path with flowers, and presented him with golden crowns and keys. He enjoyed these glories too long. When he arrived at Bogotá in the latter part of 1826, he was received with respect and with some enthusiasm. But it was soon evident that his star was setting. The vice-president, Santander, worked secretly against him. In Venezuela, likewise, his old cowboy friend, Páez, turned against him. He tried to save his proudest creation, Great Colombia. Instead of succeeding, his enemies actually attacked his home, intending to kill him. The plot to assassinate his closest friend and the greatest of generals, Sucre, succeeded. Petty intrigues, dissensions and disloyalties broke his health. Realizing he could do nothing in the midst of anarchy, he prepared to follow the example of San Martín and return to Europe. But he was too weak from the disease which ravaged him to go farther than the little town of Santa Marta, in northern Colombia. There, on December 17, 1830, died the greatest genius of South America.

The fight for independence produced many heroes, but no one of these, north or south, had the varie

talents of Simón Bolívar. He could lead a victorious army all day, dictate to three secretaries in the evening, and then dance enthusiastically at a state ball till dawn. He could write the constitution for a republic, or set down the plans for a league of nations with as much skill as he could plan a military campaign. This man, who was admired by Napoleon, by Lafayette, and by Henry Clay, mingled as a friend with his common soldiers. He bested his lieutenants in swimming across a river with his hands tied or in jumping over the head of a horse without touching its ears. As long as books are written and youth risks life for liberty, the tale of Simón Bolívar will be told. And his story will be associated in the minds of men with San Martín, O'Higgins, and other great revolutionary heroes.

#### MEXICAN INDEPENDENCE

Mexico began her struggle for independence in 1810, the same year that Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, and other colonies began theirs. In a report to the king in 1799 the situation in Mexico was described by the bishop of Michoan as one that was bound to produce trouble. Said the bishop:

In America one is either rich or miserable, noble or infamous. Indians and mestizos live in deep humiliation. The ignorance and the suffering of the Indians separate them completely from the whites. The very laws made to protect them seem to harm them.

The famous German traveler, Humboldt, reported on his trip to Mexico seven years later:

The factories appeared as prisons. The workers were half-naked, covered with sores. The great doors were kept closed, and workmen were not allowed to leave

the factory. Only on Sundays could the married ones see their families.

The revolt, which began like those of other regions, soon took on another quality. The social motive was very strong in Mexico's desire for independence. Thus early was prophesied the social revolution of 1910. The Mexican leaders of independence, Hidalgo and Morelos, were not military leaders like Bolívar and San Martín in South America. They were two parish priests profoundly interested in aiding their Indian wards. Their followers were members of the laboring class, known as peons. Before starting the revolution, Hidalgo endeavored to change the status of the Indians by introducing the culture of the silkworm and improving conditions in the factories. But he could get nowhere because of the opposition of the Spanish officials and clergy. He had been brought before the Inquisition on two separate occasions but went free for lack of evidence.

Father Hidalgo planned his revolt for December, 1810. But on the night of September 15, he was suddenly awakened by a fellow conspirator, Ignacio Allende, a captain in the Spanish regiment. Allende reported that the plot had been discovered. Hidalgo acted at once. His followers quickly multiplied as the revolution spread. But the priest was no general. His soldiers were largely armed with clubs and stones. He and his ragged followers were driven north to Chihuahua, where this great hero was captured, condemned to death by the Inquisition, and shot on July 26, 1811.

After the death of the leader, José Morelos, one of Hidalgo's followers,



headed the patriots' cause. He, too, was condemned by the Inquisition, tried by the government, and shot.

They had started a movement, however, that, in 1821, was finally to compel the Spanish viceroy to acknowledge Mexican freedom. It was a clear demonstration of the power of the Mexican Indian, once aroused, to fight for his rights. Today the bell that Hidalgo rang in the chapel of Dolores to call the Indians to revolt hangs in the National Palace in Mexico City. At midnight on September 15, the president of the republic appears on the balcony of the palace, rings the bell, and repeats Hidalgo's *grito de libertad*, the "cry of liberty." And the thousands crowding the great plaza below repeat the cry. Owing to the fact that Hidalgo did not have the support of all classes in those early days, Mexico has been compelled to go through many a bloody revolution before attaining its real liberty.

#### CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

In colonial days Central America was under the viceroy of Mexico. Until 1821 it was controlled by a small group of white exploiters. In that year a local group took hold of affairs and declared the independence of Central America. This declaration was accepted by Spain without any armed opposition. At first Mexico endeavored to maintain a tie with its Southern neighbors, but in 1823 they broke away and established the United Provinces of Central America. This organization was disrupted in 1838, and the five sections became five separate republics.

In 1804, following the French Revolution, Haiti had wrested its freedom

from France. The Dominican Republic, a part of the same West Indian island, freed itself from Spain in 1821 but soon fell under the dominance of Haiti and so remained until 1844.

#### BRAZIL'S BLOODLESS MOVEMENT

Brazil, like Central America, attained its freedom from the mother country without any violence, but for quite a different reason. When Napoleon invaded the Iberian peninsula the English aided the members of the Portuguese royal family to escape to Rio de Janeiro. There King João V remained until 1821. From this time on Brazil had the same privileges as the mother country. Industries were freed from restrictions. European immigrants were urged to settle in the new kingdom. French artists and scholars were brought to the country. A military academy and a medical school were started. The Royal Library was opened to the public, and a printing press turned out many volumes. When King João returned to Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro knew itself to be a strong cultural and political center. Consequently, the young son of João, who was left to rule in Brazil, was quite willing to follow the suggestions of the Brazilians and declared for independence from the mother country on September 7, 1822.

#### URUGUAY BECOMES INDEPENDENT

The buffer state of Uruguay, which had been a part of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata during colonial days, became the subject of continuous struggle on the part of Brazil and Argentina. In 1825 Uruguay declared her freedom and set up her own independent government. In the war

which ensued with Brazil, Uruguay was aided by forces from Argentina. In the peace which was signed in 1828, both Brazil and Argentina recognized and guaranteed the independence of Uruguay.

Thus, two years before the premature death of Simón Bolívar, the following states counted their independence as achieved: Mexico, the United Provinces of Central America, Great Colombia, Peru, Bolivia,

Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, and Haiti. Another three quarters of a century passed before Cuba and Panama joined the family of Latin-American republics. The movement toward independence had been a long and noble fight. From 1810 to 1828 the struggle had continued. But the patriots were to learn that a still more difficult battle awaited them, the battle to establish and maintain efficient democratic governments.

### Words and Terms to Learn

*comuneros*

Grand American Union Club  
junta

Great Colombia

United Provinces of Central America  
*grito de libertad*

### People to Identify

Miranda

Bolívar

Bello

San Martín

O'Higgins

Mosquera

Ferdinand VII

Luis López Méndez

Sucre

Belgrano

Cochrane

Morelos

Hidalgo

King João VI

### Learning through Discussion

1. What was the revolt of the *comuneros* and how did it resemble the Boston Tea Party?
2. What part in the independence movement was played by each of the following: Napoleon, Miranda, Bello, Ferdinand VII?
3. How did it happen that Venezuela was the first nation of South America to declare its independence of Spain?
4. What did Bolívar achieve by his march over the Andes Mountains?
5. Write a comparison of Bolívar and Washington, including their family backgrounds, their personalities, and their achievements.
6. What part did England play in the independence movement of Argentina?
7. Explain the contribution of each of these leaders to the revolutionary wars: Belgrano, Sucre, San Martín, Lord Cochrane.
8. Compare San Martín and Bolívar as to family background, personality, and achievements.
9. What great discouragement did Bolívar have at the time of his death?
10. Explain why Father Hidalgo is a hero of the Mexican nation today.

11. What important social factor made the Mexican independence movement different from those in South America?
12. How did it happen that Brazil became independent without bloodshed?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map locate:

Trinidad	Quito	Chihuahua
Caracas	Rio de la Plata	Uruguay
Orinoco River	Callao	The four vice-royalties and
Bogotá	Guayaquil	their capitals

2. Come to class prepared to point out on a wall map:

- (a) The important places connected with the life of Miranda
- (b) The important places connected with the life of San Martín
- (c) The important places connected with the life of Bolívar
- (d) The approximate points at which Bolívar and San Martín led their troops across the Andes.

### Projects and Problems

1. List in outline form the conditions in Europe which started the movement for independence in Latin America. This should include Napoleon's attack on Spain and Portugal, the transfer of the Portuguese government from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, the war between Great Britain and Napoleon, the desires of various European countries to trade with colonies in Latin America.

2. Be able to discuss in class the three principal movements for independence: the one in Mexico led by Hidalgo, the movement in the northern section of South America begun by Miranda, but led by Bolívar; and the revolution in the southern part of the continent led by San Martín.

3. Write an imaginary account of the famous interview between Bolívar and San Martín in the city of Guayaquil.

4. Show the advantages of the independence movement in Brazil, one of the more confused movements among the colonies, indicating the possible superior results in Brazil as shown by her history.

5. Prepare an imaginary address which you might have given at the funeral services of Simón Bolívar in the little Colombian town of Santa Marta where he died in obscurity.

6. Compare the home of Bolívar in Caracas with that of Washington at Mount Vernon.

7. Prepare a class newspaper which might have appeared at the time of the struggle for independence. Write the headlines for the front page and the main news story about one of the important events of the war for independence. Include other news items and the various parts of a newspaper such as advertisements, sports, society, editorials, pictures, etc. Be sure that all are appropriate for the time about which you are writing.

8. Learn if possible the national anthem of at least one of the Latin American republics along with the story of its writing.



## VIII. THE STRUGGLE TOWARD DEMOCRACY

The republics had now won their independence. They had set up their own governments. The next question was: Would the rest of the world acknowledge them as nations? They naturally expected the greatest amount of aid from the United States and Great Britain, for they were the most democratic countries and the ones that most desired foreign trade. During the early days of the Spanish-American struggle for independence the United States considered itself obliged to maintain neutrality until all pending questions with Spain were settled. Eager to develop relations with the new countries, however, it sent an agent, named Joel Poinsett, to Argentina and Chile, and other agents to northern South America. These men were somewhat surprised at their enthusiastic reception. At some the ardent young leader from Kentucky, Henry Clay, began his long fight in Congress to secure the recognition of the new republics. In 1822 the United States sent its first minister to Colombia. In the next year the Monroe Doctrine was promulgated. Thus we announced to the world that we accepted the countries as free, independent nations.

### THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Before the Spanish-American republics asked for recognition (ac-

knowledgment of independence) by the United States, they sent several delegations to Great Britain to secure her co-operation. Early in the struggle Great Britain replied by making loans and furnishing ships and men to the South American patriots. The British Prime Minister, Canning, boasted of this help and declared: "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." This was not true, because the Americans had won their own independence. But Britain did help by lending them her great influence. Russia, Austria, and Prussia took a different attitude. They entered into an arrangement, known as the Holy Alliance, to protect monarchy against the alarming spread of democracy. It looked as if the alliance, which was later joined by most of the other monarchs of Europe (the Pope, the Sultan of Turkey, and Great Britain holding aloof), would aid Spain to recover its lost American colonies. Facing such a threat, Canning proposed to the United States that the two governments make a joint declaration in favor of the new republics. This was a daring measure. President Monroe consulted with Jefferson, Madison, Adams, and other statesmen on this important matter. He finally decided against a joint declaration with Great Britain and in favor



North and South America in 1826, after the Wars of Independence



of an announcement by the United States defining its own policy. President Monroe then sent his famous message to Congress in which he notified European countries that any attempt to subdue or influence the nations of the New World would be considered as hostile acts against the United States of America.

The message that President Monroe sent to Congress on December 2, 1823 was a great aid to the Southern nations. Setting out on a precarious existence, they wondered whether they would find friends anywhere. President Monroe assured them that they would. He declared that the American countries "by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." He went on to say that the United States would view as an unfriendly act any European intervention to oppress or control the destiny of American republics, whose independence it had recognized. Latin America received the report with much satisfaction. This doctrine of "America for the Americans," that Europe must allow us to live our own life on this continent without interfering with any part of the New World, became the guiding policy of United States' foreign relations. It was that fundamental idea which led us in the second World War to co-operate with our Southern neighbors in resisting the Axis.

Great Britain followed the example of the United States in recognizing the new Southern republics. In 1824 she signed a treaty with Argentina, and soon did the same with other re-

publics. She persuaded her ally, Portugal, to admit the independence of Brazil in 1825. One year before, the United States had made the same friendly gesture by receiving the Brazilian representative, José Rebello. He came to Washington to propose an alliance with the United States to defend the ideas expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Rebello's instructions were to "express an exclusive partiality for the American system." This illustrates the fact that many Southern statesmen had the same ideas as Monroe about keeping the American continent free from European dominance.

France recognized the American republics in 1830. Already the Pope had done the same. Spain, the mother country, was the only one to hold out. For many years she grudgingly refused to recognize her children's rights to set up their own houses, delaying as late as 1882 the recognition of Honduras. By the time that Bolívar retired from active service, however, the Latin-American republics had definitely become permanent members of the family of nations.

#### WHAT KIND OF GOVERNMENT?

Southern Americans were soon to learn that the most difficult of all problems is to govern oneself. "Independence," exclaimed Bolívar in one of his pessimistic moods, "is the only good we have achieved." In describing the early handicaps of his people, he said:

We possess a world apart, new in almost all the arts and sciences, and yet old in a fashion, after the uses of civil society. Neither Indian nor European, we are a species that lies midway between. Is it conceivable that a people recently freed





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

The Monroe Palace in Rio de Janeiro was dedicated by Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, in 1906. Until 1930 it was used as a meeting place of the Brazilian senate.



of its chains can launch itself into the sphere of liberty, without shattering its wings, like Icarus, and plunging into the abyss? . . . The majority are mestizos, mulattoes, Indians, and Negroes. An ignorant people is a blunt instrument for its own destruction. To it, liberty means license, patriotism means disloyalty, and justice means vengeance.

Such words were uttered when the Liberator was sick and discouraged. But there is truth enough in them to indicate the difficulties of developing a new government. It seems natural to us today that they should have chosen the republican form, as did the English colonists. The fact is that, given their lack of preparation for self-government and the advice of many of their leaders, the most natural thing would have been for them to choose monarchy. The arguments in favor of a monarchy presented by San Martín and many others were strong. In the first place, a king gives personality to patriotism. He is a living flag that the most ignorant citizen can understand. Again, tradition and custom are always conservative forces—especially needed in young countries that have few people who understand anything about a republic, with its nicely balanced power between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Three sources were suggested from which the new countries might secure such a monarch: (1) a prince from England, Spain, or other European country; (2) a descendant from the Inca Empire; or (3) a prince from the ruling house in Brazil. Argentina went as far as to send a delegation to Europe to look for a prince to head the government at Buenos Aires. But none could be found.

**Bolívar's Plan.** After long years of pondering over the subject of the best form of government, Bolívar developed the idea of a combination of republic and kingdom. Bolívar stated his ideas in a constitution which he proposed for the Republic of Bolivia. The president was to hold office for life and appoint his successor. His authority would be limited by making the vice-president the main administrative officer. He would be subject to impeachment by congress and the supreme court. Some of the members of the congress were to be elected for short periods, others for life. Bolívar believed in a fourth division of the government which would look after the education and morals of the citizens. While not a devout churchman, the Liberator was a strong believer in the power of religion and moral force to conserve loyalty and patriotism. Undoubtedly this plan took into account the real conditions that prevailed, but it was not accepted.

The third proposal was that of a federation of separate states into a federal union. It was the least adapted to conditions in Latin America. In the North the English colonists had been experimenting with self-government. In the South neither the Spanish nor the Indian population had a clear conception of the balance between the different divisions of government or the significance of individuals voting for officials. In the North thirteen different states needed very much to be united. In the South, where the different sections of each viceroyalty had always had a common government, to force government on local communities was a difficult feat. But the patriots were determined to

have the best in the market. A Colombian citizen, Miguel de Pombo, translated the constitution of the United States into Spanish and said to his countrymen:

What then is that nation which we ought to imitate—the nation whose constitution may serve us as a model? That nation is upon our own continent. It is the people of the United States—the first people upon the globe that are entitled to the distinguished honor of having established a form of government favorable to universal liberty.

Most of the countries carried out the ideas of Pombo and adopted constitutions patterned after that of their Northern neighbor. Chile was one of the exceptions. Under the influence of a businessman named Portales her constitution provided for a strong executive, following to a certain extent the suggestions of Bolívar. This document lasted for nearly a hundred years.

In regard to religious liberty, however, the Spanish American constitutions deviated from the United States model. Practically all of these documents provided that the Roman Catholic Church was to be the religion of the state and usually prohibited the exercise of any other. The Peruvian constitution stated, "The nation professes the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion; the state protects it and does not permit the public exercise of any other." In spite of the plea for religious liberty made by Bolívar, the Bolivian Constitution of 1826 stated: "The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the religion of the republic to the exclusion of all other public cults."

The political debates in the various

republics soon became related to the church. Instead of being divided between Republicans and Democrats, as in the North, the parties were usually called Clerical (relating to the clergy) and Liberal. There were several especially troublesome questions. One was education. During the colonial period the Church had been charged with the responsibility of conducting the schools. Leaders in the new republics usually considered that education should be directed by the state. Outstanding universities like San Marcos in Lima and the University of Mexico were needed. However, the Church opposed the organization of free schools conducted by the state, since they were likely to omit religious instruction, or might even be anti-religious.

Another question related to marriage. The liberals believed that the legal ceremony should be performed by the state, with the religious ceremony left optional with the bride and groom. The Church insisted that marriages must be performed under the auspices of the Church.

A third question arose in regard to cemeteries. The Church controlled the burial grounds. It permitted only the faithful to be interred in these grounds. Liberals, who had abandoned the Church, as well as Protestants, Jews, and others regarded as heretics, were often deprived of an decent place to inter their dead.

The matter of taxes also brought much hard feeling. Should the government of a republic continue the old custom of the colony of collecting tithes for the Church? Should an institution, often richer than the state, receive financial support from the



state? Numerous questions of this nature occupied the time of citizens and prevented them from united attack on other problems.

**Boundary Disputes.** It is natural for people living in the United States to think that the boundaries of nations are as clearly fixed as the lines of the lots on which two neighbors' houses are situated. This idea, when applied to the republics of Latin America, is quite wrong. Remember that when the Europeans first began to explore and settle America, there were only three great divisions. One belonged to Portugal, roughly corresponding to what is today Brazil. The other two belonged to Spain. One of these was called New Spain; it extended from California down through the Mexico of today to Panama. The third division was called the Viceroyalty of Peru, embracing all of South America outside of Brazil. Later Spain created four viceroyalties, with capitals at Mexico City, Bogotá, Lima, and Buenos Aires. Smaller divisions were gradually acknowledged, like Guatemala, Ecuador, and Chile. In wild country which was not mapped, it is clear that grants made by the king—from a certain mountain to a certain river, whose bed was constantly changing—would be subject to dispute. Some of these disputes arose immediately after the setting up of independent governments. Others did not become serious until land became valuable because of the discovery of oil, as in the case of the Chaco between Bolivia and Paraguay.

Boundary disputes were, from the beginning of Latin-American independence, the most serious causes of war between neighbors. With such

boundaries unsurveyed, it was easy for a country that had imperialistic desires about controlling its neighbors to start a fuss over the claims concerning trespassing on its boundaries. This was the ostensible excuse for the war between the United States and Mexico (1846–1848), as well as between Chile, Bolivia, and Peru (1879–1883). As we study the history of the various republics, we shall be impressed with the time they have lost in continuous quarrels over territory which often seemed of little value. Since all other nations have done the same, it is quite unfair to blame the Southern countries unduly for such quarrels. Most of the disputes have been settled not by war but by arbitration, that is, by the decision of an outside person or persons chosen by the disputing parties. The President of the United States has several times been asked to arbitrate such matters. Modern science has recently contributed to their solution by accurately tracing geographical points in mountainous and jungle regions and by photographing these from airplanes. By the year 1943 all but minor disputes seemed to have been settled.

Boundary disputes were increased because, after independence was secured, leadership fell into the hands of generals who had led in the fight against Spain. With Bolívar, San Martín, and Sucre out of the picture, lesser generals like Páez of Venezuela, Santander of Colombia, Flores of Ecuador, and Santa Cruz of Bolivia injected their personal quarrels into the relations between their countries. Like the generals of Alexander the Great, each one of the lesser commanders began to use the peace as a

means of setting up his own little kingdom. This is not to say that each of these men was not honest in his belief that he knew what was best for his country.

Unfortunately there was no definite pattern of government for the Latin-American republics to follow. A leader who energetically suppressed lawlessness and compelled people to play a united game was likely to be considered a tyrant. His opponents would then start armed movements to suppress such tyranny. If the strong arm was relaxed, anarchy soon reared its ugly head. In the hundred years and more since independence government leadership has continually shifted by force of arms from dictatorship to a trial of democratic methods and back to dictatorship again. In Latin America such rapid changes in leadership are called "revolutions." To us the word *revolution* means a violent uprising as, for example, the French Revolution, when monarchy was overthrown and a republic set up. But in Latin America a revolution may occur without a change in the form of government. Sometimes it is merely an attempt to change rulers. Thus it happens that any armed movement, which may not even have the importance of a labor strike in the United States, is called a revolution in the Southern republics.

The leader of a successful revolution who assumed command of the government and ruled with force in the early years of the Latin-American republics was given a special name. He was called a *caudillo*. The word means chief, or leader. But it is not easy to define in English. He is usually pictured as a man on horseback,

with a strong will, a rough sense of justice, and a determination to use whatever methods were necessary to bring about orderly government. He lived in a period of disorganization. He assumed practically all the responsibility for solving the problems of the nation. Later, when such *caudillos* moved into an age of better organization, got down off their horses and began to ride in carriages and live in mansions, they became known as dictators.

We should be careful not to judge the *caudillos* and dictators of Latin America by the same standards as we judge the rulers of the United States. A strong central government may be preferable to one that is run by ten thousand town meetings, when few people in the towns know anything about the issues they are asked to decide or can read the ballot they are supposed to cast. The *caudillos* were seldom worse than the chiefs of Tammany Hall who at times have controlled New York City, or governor of some of the states who have employed a band of deputy sheriffs to oppress the people.

**Opponents of Dictatorship.** The absolute authority, called dictatorship, has never been meekly accepted in Latin-American countries. Among the opponents of the man who had seized the power, a group of intellectuals was sure to be found. Although these intellectuals were seldom able to place their representatives in the actual seat of the administrator, they had great influence on the government, either as critics or as members of a "brain trust" which advised the administrator. From the beginning of the independence movement



seen students of government were found in the various countries. About the middle of the nineteenth century this group was considerably enlarged. One of their representatives was the famous Juan Bautista Alberdi, whose books remind one of the writings of Alexander Hamilton. Many of the intellectuals were professors in the universities and editors of newspapers, institutions which exercised much influence in political life. It was not altogether ignorance of the methods of self-government but other causes as well that brought long years of chaos in Latin America. Leaders failed to realize that a new political system could not work if an old colonial economic system was retained. The great majority of people in Latin America no more participate in the machinations of such a revolutionary leader than the majority in the United States determine the actions of their political bosses. One of the surprising things about a Latin-American revolution is the slight effect it usually has on the everyday life of the country. Most Latin Americans take great pains to keep out of politics. There is usually a tacit understanding between the dictator and his people that they may go their own way so long as they do not interfere with governmental affairs. Under such conditions public opinion has scarcely any existence, and the average person, native or foreigner, feels no responsibility for the general welfare. The dictator and his group are themselves often interested only in maintaining the strength of the army and making sure that finances are available.

Dictators in Southern America are far different from the totalitarian

kind in Europe. Dictators like Rosas of Argentina, Díaz of Mexico, and Gómez of Venezuela have not invaded the well-known individualistic philosophy of the Spanish Americans. As long as the political dominance of the *caudillos* was unquestioned, they made no effort to dictate the totality of economic, social, and cultural life of their people. None of these dictators ever dared to ridicule democracy, and they seldom failed to declare loyalty to a written constitution. They never boasted of eliminating the law, or made sport of their legislative bodies and the courts as the European dictators have done.

#### LATIN AMERICA PROGRESSES

The leaders of the Revolution against Spain were politically, not economically, minded. Dominated by the political theories, they thought little of changing fundamental conditions to relieve the economic exploitation of the common man. The first century of independence shows scarcely any effort to free labor from its bondage. The condition of the Indians was at times even worse than in colonial times. Many of the great landed estates had their origin in the favors shown to their friends by government officials during the nineteenth century. The landed proprietors usually controlled the government and used it to aid them in exploiting the Indians and the sharecroppers. The system of capitalism was introduced by the English and later on reinforced by the North Americans and French. The division of society into two distinct classes, the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the great proprietors and the peons, was defi-



nately fixed. Foreign capitalists and businessmen who came to these republics to do business, to build railroads, and to open banks aided the privileged classes to maintain these divisions. Many political reforms were undertaken during the nineteenth century. But not until 1910 in Mexico was a fundamental social and economic revolution started. Many years after independence the old Spanish laws and Napoleonic code continued. These did not consider labor as free. In fact, many of the laws of countries like Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, and Mexico clearly indicated the legal inferiority of workers. The only exception was some protection given to miners. This makes all the more remarkable the progressive social legislation of the last twenty years which is described in a later chapter.

**Efforts toward Unification.** No sooner had the colonists secured their independence than they began to move away from each other. Venezuela and Ecuador left Colombia, Paraguay, and Uruguay separated from Buenos Aires. Central America set up her house independently of Mexico and then separated into five republics. At the same time a counter movement for union was begun. This was emphasized by the Panama Congress called by Bolívar in 1826. While the Congress failed in many ways, it started a movement which has continued, even in the darkest days of division, to urge unity. Under the leadership of Peru, Mexico, Colombia, and Chile, especially, conferences were held to develop such unity. Vicuña Mackenna, the Chilean historian, gives a list of thirty well-known Latin Americans who, during the middle of

the last century, were advocating American unity. Some included and some excluded the United States and Brazil in such a plan for Spanish America.

**The Mid-Nineteenth Century.** In all America, North and South, there were evidences of a new era of progress around the middle of the nineteenth century. The revolution of 1848 in Europe in favor of more liberal government was not successful. But it had its effect on the thinking of America just as the French Revolution had fifty years before. When Abraham Lincoln gave his great address at Gettysburg and defined democracy as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," he was only one of a number of leaders who was preaching that idea. At that time there were three other heads of government in America who were great democrats. These were Mitre of Argentina, Juárez of Mexico, and, strangely enough, the emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II.

**An Emperor Favors Democracy.** It was Dom Pedro who, by his own democratic spirit, did most to change Brazil into a republic. When the emperor met Victor Hugo on a visit to Europe, he told the famous writer as he sat beside him: "Now for the first time I feel that I am sitting on a throne." The emperor was very fond of scientific and literary men. He invited the great American scientist, Professor Louis Agassiz, to Brazil to study natural life in the Amazon valley. When the study was finished, Agassiz gave, at the request of the emperor, a series of lectures in Rio de Janeiro. His wife was very eager to attend these, but at that time it was unheard

of for a woman to attend such meetings. He approached Dom Pedro on the subject. The emperor replied that the women would not understand the lecture, but he would send them special invitations. "Not at all," replied the intrepid professor, "let them come with their husbands and fathers as in the United States. If they are as ignorant as your Majesty thinks they are, the sooner you put them in the way of learning something, the better for them and their children." The ladies came. It is not recorded whether or not they understood the lectures.

The emperor visited the United States during the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. On his first Sunday in this country he attended Mass at the cathedral in the morning and a Moody and Sankey revival service in the evening. When he met the Quaker poet Whittier, he tried to embrace him in true Latin-American fashion. But the shy New Englander eluded him and extended his hand instead. However, when they parted, the emperor was too quick for the poet and succeeded in giving him an enthusiastic embrace. Dom Pedro traveled so widely and asked so many questions that a newspaper remarked: "When he goes home, he will know more about the United States than two thirds of the members of Congress." Said another editor: "No ruler has, as a ruler or as a man, ever deserved so well from the United States as Pedro II."

**President Mitre of Argentina.** Especially famous in Argentina is the name of General Mitre, because he had the honor of being the first president of a united Argentina. For many

years he had worked for the defeat of the dictator Rosas. With other great men of Argentina, like Sarmiento and Alberdi, he had suffered exile, hunger, and humiliation in this struggle. But he had never lowered the flag of democracy. He and Lincoln began their administrations almost at the same time. But Mitre had his struggle for national unity behind him, while Lincoln had, with many a grave doubt, his terrific battle before him. The provinces of Argentina had never liked Buenos Aires—an imperious city, which looked down upon the cowboys and the farmers which made up much of the population of the country. Mitre's election showed that finally the people recognized the necessity of uniting if Argentina was ever to become a nation. It was Mitre's business to win the country people to the great metropolis—as difficult as persuading the farmers of the West that Wall Street is their friend. He went about it in a wise way. "The re-organization of the republic on the basis of morality, of liberty, and of a reformed constitution has been the banner which united the desires of all," the president declared. For his unifying work he was officially designated by his people as *benemérito de la patria*, "well-deserving of the nation." President Mitre, in the latter part of his administration, found himself assuming the command of the united military forces of Brazil, Uruguay, and his own country to stop the wild dreams of conquest of the Paraguayan dictator, López. Besides his political work as the great unifier of his country, he was a noted historian and poet. He is specially remembered today as the founder of the great newspaper, *La*

*Nación*, one of the world's best morning journals.

**The Indian Patriot.** "Some day I will hit that thing such a blow that it will be ended forever," thought young Abe Lincoln, as he left the steamboat on which he was working and witnessed the auctioning off of Negro slaves in the slave market at New Orleans. Twenty years later another young man walked through that same slave market and was equally shocked. But it was not the first time young Benito Juárez had seen deep indignities heaped on human beings. He himself was an Indian, a member of an oppressed race in his native Mexico. He was now a fugitive from one of the worst oppressors in Latin America, General Santa Anna. Hungry, without money or friends, he found work in a New Orleans cigar factory among refugee Cubans and Mexicans. His wage hardly kept him from starving. But he occupied his extra time in studying the problems then agitating the United States, the question of slavery and of states' rights. He studied especially the actions of Abraham Lincoln, for that man had endeared himself to Mexico six years before by a speech in Congress. In criticizing President Polk for declaring war against Mexico, Lincoln had said: "He feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him.—Let him remember that he sits where Washington sat, and let him answer as Washington would answer.—He is a bewildered, confounded, and miserably perplexed man."

At the time Lincoln was making that speech in Congress and General

Scott's soldiers were marching from Veracruz to Mexico City, Juárez was governor of the State of Oaxaca, Mexico. He had raised an army in his state to defend it from the invading force from the North. But the reactionary Santa Anna soon took charge of the defense of Mexico and lost the war. A few years later, as an enemy of all liberals, Santa Anna decided to destroy Juárez. It was then that the Mexican leader was expelled from his country and had to eke out a miserable existence in the slums of New Orleans. During those two years he came to realize that imperialism and injustice were not characteristics of a single nation, but might be carried out in any country when a reactionary party came into power. In 1855 Juárez returned to Mexico and was elected president of the Republic. In 1857 he gave to his nation the famous liberal constitution, which contained numerous ideas endorsed by Lincoln. In 1861 both Juárez and Lincoln found themselves thrust forward as leaders in soul-testing wars.

In April, 1865, Lincoln and the Union stood victorious. But not so Juárez. The French, who had landed at Veracruz four years before, had placed Maximilian on a hastily erected throne. The Indian leader, with a struggling, starving army, had been steadily crowded toward the Texas border. In a small town opposite El Paso, Texas, the Mexican patriots stood at bay. All seemed lost. At that critical time came word from Washington. "Hold on, help is coming," said the man in the White House to the Indian in a sun-baked adobe hut on the banks of the Rio Grande. Within a few weeks both



United States diplomats in Paris and United States soldiers on the Rio Grande were telling Napoleon III that he must get his troops out of Mexico. The French army began to move toward Veracruz and their ships. At the same time the troops of Juárez moved toward Mexico City and toward the capture of Maximilian.

The emperor and his dwindling army were overtaken at the quaint old city of Querétaro in central Mexico. Unable to resist the ragged forces of Indian democracy, the proud European prince was captured and shot. When the royal families of the Old World begged Juárez to spare the life of Maximilian, the reply was firm: the world must learn, so that it could never forget, that Mexico would allow no foreign interference with its independence and its republicanism. After the execution of the emperor, the mighty Indian leader returned to Mexico City. Unlike his good friend Lincoln, who was assassinated at the height of his power, Juárez continued as president of his country until he quietly passed away in 1872. Like President Mitre, of Argentina, he was decorated by his nation with the distinguished name, *benemérito*, which means, the "well-deserving one."

Interesting indeed—is it not?—to realize that in the 1860's democracy won out in both of these tremendous struggles on the North American Continent. In such a crisis America could count on leaders like Abraham Lincoln, Bartolomé Mitre, Benito Juárez, and that most democratic of emperors, Dom Pedro II.

**Progress during a Century.** A comparison of the United States and Latin America, a century after inde-

pendence was declared, reveals one notably significant trend in politics favorable to the Southern republics. With all the difficulties occasioned by revolutions and dictatorships within their borders, the result has been nevertheless that the most vital personalities have been called to leadership. In this connection it is interesting to note Thomas Jefferson's belief that a nation can retain its freshness only by revolutions, and James Bryce's declaration that the United States seldom elects its strongest men to the presidency.

By 1875 a number of the Latin-American countries had definitely emerged from the period of anarchy and started on the road toward an organized national life. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Costa Rica were engaged in a positive program of crop improvement, railroad building and construction of ports, development of international trade, and expansion of public education. Brazil had never had more than minor armed disturbances. After 1890 Argentina had no revolution for forty years. Colombia entered a definite period of peace with the opening of the new century. Mexico had peace during the long dominance of Porfirio Díaz, from 1876 to 1910. Revolutions, when they did occur, were not nearly so destructive of life as was commonly supposed by foreigners. In 1810 the population of Latin America was estimated at 15,000,000. In 1860 it was 25,000,000. In 1910 it was 80,000,000. Its foreign commerce expanded 400 per cent from 1810 to 1860, and 500 per cent from 1860 to 1910. During the century following independence popular education developed from

practically nothing to the point where every Latin-American country had established its national educational system. This reached from the primary school to the university. It provided, at least theoretically, for compulsory schooling for all citizens. Slavery, where it had existed, had been eliminated in each country, without war. Beginning with the provision in practically every constitution that Roman Catholicism was to be the only religion allowed, religious tolerance had attained official approval in all countries except Peru (where it was admitted in 1915). Legal equality, and to a much greater extent than in Anglo-Saxon democracies, social equality, was granted to Indians, Negroes, and all other racial groups. Great cities like Buenos Aires, Rio de Janiero, and Mexico City had been built and beautified. Campaigns for public health had begun; labor legislation had been inaugurated; important newspapers and literary journals had been developed. Tides of immigration had set in from Europe. All the great industrial countries were seeking an exchange of commerce with these growing lands.

The Latin-American republics had begun to occupy a place at the council table of the nations. They had accepted the principle of arbitration, first proclaimed by Bolívar at the Panama Congress in 1826. They had won world recognition by the settlement of the boundary dispute between Argentina and Chile and the erection of the statue of the Christ of the Andes

in honor of that event. Brazil had peacefully adjusted her border disputes with all of her seven neighbors. The agreement between the A B C powers (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) had reduced armaments and settled other questions between these three countries. Mexico and the United States had led the Central American republics into closer co-operation. Altogether, the Latin-American countries had shown themselves by 1910 to have the qualities of leadership necessary to merit a place in the world's family of nations.

The greatest progress in the twenty republics was made following the first World War. That struggle shook those countries out of their complacency. They learned not to depend so largely on Europe. They started growing a variety of crops rather than depending on one product. They began to build their own industries and to supply their own capital. More co-operation in trade and in political life was developed among the Latin-American countries themselves. During the second World War a new continental solidarity was produced, on the basis of which the Pan American Union planned to have a large place in the development of peace machinery for all the nations of the world. The Southern republics had arrived at a point where they felt sure of their place in future world life. With this brief historical survey of the whole of Latin America, we are now ready to get a picture of each of the twenty individual republics.

## Words and Terms to Learn

recognition	revolution
Holy Alliance	<i>caudillo</i>
dictatorship	Monroe Doctrine
clerical	anarchy
arbitration	A B C powers

## People to Identify

Joel Poinsett	the Liberator	Mitre
Henry Clay	Alberdi	Juárez
Canning	Rosas	Santa Anna
Monroe	Gómez	Maximilian

## Learning through Discussion

1. In granting recognition to the new republics of Spanish America, what part was played by each of the following: Poinsett, Clay, Canning, Monroe?
2. Explain the original meaning of the Monroe Doctrine.
3. Arrange the following world powers in the order in which they recognized the independence of the new republics: Spain, the United States, the Pope, England, France, Portugal. Explain the attitude of Spain and France.
4. Describe the kind of government Bolívar wanted for the new republics.
5. What suggestion was made by Miguel de Pombo? How widely was it adopted?
6. How did most of the Spanish American constitutions differ from that of the United States in regard to religion?
7. Discuss the four troublesome questions which developed in regard to the church and the government.
8. What is the historical reason for boundary disputes among the American republics? How is modern science helping to eliminate them?
9. Discuss one case in the history of the United States when a boundary dispute led to a war.
10. What is the difference in the meaning of the word *revolution* to Latin Americans and to North Americans?
11. What is a *caudillo*? Give at least two reasons for the development of *caudillos* in the new republics of Spanish America.
12. What group in the other American republics have usually opposed dictatorship? Explain who they are.
13. How do Latin-American dictators generally differ from Fascist dictators?
14. In general, what economic classes existed in Latin America before the wars of independence? Did independence change those classes?
15. In what ways was Dom Pedro II of Brazil democratic?
16. Give three reasons why Mitre may be considered a great Argentine leader.
17. What inspiration and actual aid did Juárez receive from Abraham Lincoln?



18. During the period from 1810 to 1910, what advance had the Latin American republics made in regard to population, foreign trade, slavery, and religious toleration?

19. What important event is symbolized by the statue of the Christ of the Andes?

20. What very important effects did the first World War have on Latin America?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map of Mexico locate the following places associated with the life and work of Juárez: Oaxaca, Veracruz, Querétaro, Mexico City, Rio Grande, and El Paso.

2. Consult the various American histories and reference books in your library and come to class prepared to point out on a wall map:

(a) The enlargement of territory of the United States from 1800 to 1900

(b) The loss of territory in Latin America between 1800 and 1900

(c) The gains in territory made by the United States as a result of the war with Spain

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a list of the things that were favorable and that were unfavorable for the development of independent democratic life among the new nations following the independence from Spain.

2. Compare the background for self-government of the English colonies and the Spanish colonies on securing their independence.

3. Choose one of the following countries and show the problems which that government faced in the decade following the establishment of its independent government.

Colombia

Argentina

Mexico

Brazil

4. Describe the problem of boundaries in the beginning of the Independence period between the five republics liberated by Bolívar.

5. Compare the conditions in Latin America and the United States after a century of experience as independent republics.

6. Taking Argentina as an example, trace the difficult development of unity in a country of sparse population with the cowboy inhabitants accustomed to rule themselves.

7. Outline the conditions in Europe which led President Monroe to declare his doctrine. Give your opinion as to whether the Monroe Doctrine actually aided the Latin-American republics in their development.

8. Show some of the ways in which Great Britain aided or opposed the political and economic development of the young Latin-American nations.

9. Government always has the tendency to swing from a strong central power to a loose federation of its various sections. Even in the United States the problem of states' rights *versus* a strong federal government is continually present. In the light of this struggle, state your own opinion as to whether early dictatorships in Latin-American republics were or were not necessary.

## IX. MEXICO

**A Country of Contrasts.** Few countries have more different phases of life represented by their people and their history than Mexico. One author calls it *la frontera de la raza*, "the frontier of the race." This symbolizes the significance of Mexico in holding the frontier against the influx of Anglo-Saxon life. Other writers emphasize the predominance of the Indian, insisting that the country cannot be understood without taking into account the aboriginal element. Mexico is also important as an art center. Nowhere are more beautiful or outstanding examples of Spanish colonial architecture and art to be found than in the City of Mexico. Diverse examples of Mexico's desire to be up to date are the modernistic buildings that begin to dominate the sky line of the capital and the basketball courts that are appearing in faraway villages in the mountains. The sharp contrasts are plainly visible to the eye as one approaches the country by plane from Guatemala. The trip from Veracruz to the capital, which in the time of Cortés required months, is now a matter of two hours by plane. As one wings his way into the great Valley of Mexico, he passes so near to the old snow-capped volcanoes, familiarly called "Popo" and "Ixta" (Popocatepetl and Ixtacihuatl),

that he is almost able to reach out his hand and brush the snow from their faces. At the same time, looking immediately below, he views the great Pyramids of the Sun and Moon, built by the Toltecs many centuries ago. Landing at a modern airport in Mexico City, one is taxied to a modern hotel and finds himself in the midst of the activities of a city of nearly 2,000,000 people. Almost at once, he is thrust into exciting discussions about modern social problems, labor movements, and new developments in art and literature. It makes little difference whether one is conservative or liberal, interested in politics, philosophy, archaeology, sociology, or modern music and motion pictures, he will find himself at home immediately in the atmosphere of Mexico City.

### CORTÉS IMPOSES THE SPANISH SYSTEM

The history of Mexico might be written around the names of five important characters: Cortés, Hidalgo, Juárez, Díaz, and Madero. Each one initiated an important period in Mexican life. After the conquest Cortés began the system of enormous landed estates that persists today and constitutes one of Mexico's chief problems. The conquistadors carved out for

themselves great estates with thousands of acres and docile Indians, who lived upon the land and practically became serfs. Modern life later came to the cities, but in the country the old ways continued and economic slavery predominated. The owners cared not for the efficient development of their landed estates or the improvement of conditions among the tenants who worked on their estates. What they wanted was sufficient revenue to enable them to live extravagantly in Mexico City or in Paris. The Church, the army, and the government itself all wished to perpetuate this antiquated social system. Mexican history, with its long series of revolutions, counterrevolutions, foreign interventions, and shifting constitutions cannot be understood unless the economic system fostered by the large landowners of the country is constantly kept in mind.

**Hidalgo Demands Independence.** Hidalgo stands out as the leader in the struggle for independence. In 1810 this humble parish priest led the revolt against Spain. It is significant that a priest should have led the movement because the source of much of the strife in Mexico has been the attempt to separate Church and state. Not infrequently ecclesiastics held large, landed estates and, as rich landowners, were the partners of the army. But parish priests like Hidalgo illustrate the deep interest of the lower clergy in the welfare of the people. Long before the War of Independence, Hidalgo had shown his sympathy for the lowly Indian and had attempted to improve the primitive agricultural methods in use and to introduce the cultivation of the

silkworm. His interest in the natives brought him into trouble with the authorities who were determined to maintain the *status quo*; in other words, to uphold existing conditions. Their objective only served to convince him that the one solution to the problems of the Indian was independence from Spain. He therefore began to work towards this end, but his plans were discovered before he was ready to take effective action. Undaunted by the need of hastening his plans, he placed himself at the head of a bedraggled army of Indians armed with picks and spades and defied the power of Spain. His undisciplined hordes, after a few initial successes, were totally defeated. Hidalgo fell a prisoner, was degraded from his office of priest, and was shot in the back as a traitor. His head and those of three of his principal lieutenants were displayed on a public building in Guanajuato, now converted into a national museum.

**Morelos Carries On.** His death did not end the struggle for independence. Another parish priest, once his student, now took up the leadership. José María Morelos, who gave up his profession to head the cause, had considerable military ability. For two years he won one victory after another. By 1813 he was ready to call a congress, which met on November 2 of that year. This little group of patriots issued a formal declaration of independence and framed the first constitution of Mexico. This document asserted that the new government would protect the Roman Catholic religion, thus denying the charge that the revolutionists were against the Church. But at the same time it



declared that the Church would be maintained by voluntary contributions, clearly pointing out the need of separating the Church and the state. "Sovereignty," declared Morelos, "emanates directly from the people. Laws must apply to all alike without exceptions or privileges. As a good law is above all men, these laws which our congress shall enact must be such as to compel obedience and patriotism." He went further and advocated the confiscation of the larger landed estates.

Unfortunately, a young Spanish commander, Agustín de Iturbide, succeeded in entering into negotiations with the revolutionists. The new congress lost confidence in its leader. The army of the patriots became torn with dissension and was signally defeated. Morelos refused to abandon his friends and fell into the hands of the royalists, who promptly shot him. But he had kept alive the torch of liberty during the darkest hour of the struggle and given to the revolution a program that was to inspire others to continue the fight.

Dark days followed the death of the brilliant leader. During the next six years Spain almost succeeded in re-establishing its absolute sway. A few scattered patriots under such leaders as Guerrero, Guadalupe Victoria, and Nicolás Bravo kept up the fight. In 1820 the viceroy decided to crush the rebellion and, looking about for a leader to take command of the royalist forces, remembered the distinguished young officer who had distinguished himself for his ruthlessness six years before. Agustín de Iturbide was called back into active service and charged with the task of dealing

the deathblow to the guerrilla bands that remained.

The young royalist, however, had become an admirer of the defenders of independence. He marched south ostensibly against Guerrero, the recognized leader of the patriots, and met him at the village of Iguala. After a secret interview he proclaimed the famous "Plan of Iguala," by which all parties were reconciled. Under his leadership the independence of Mexico was attained within a year. The Plan of Iguala is called the plan of the three guarantees because the signers pledged themselves to establish complete independence, to bring about the equality of all races before the law, and to maintain the Catholic Church as the national religion of Mexico.

**Iturbide Is Proclaimed Emperor.** A new viceroy arrived in Mexico, and there followed the Treaty of Córdoba, by which Viceroy O'Donojú recognized the independence of Mexico and its right to choose its own ruler. But Iturbide's ambition had been aroused by his easy success. He now aspired to emulate the glories of Napoleon, whom he admired as the successful military leader of revolutionary France. Quickly he had himself proclaimed emperor by the army on May 18, 1822. His empire was short-lived. Within less than a year the patriots who had fought against monarchy rose against him, dethroned him, and sent him into exile to Italy. Early in 1824 he attempted to return and re-establish his empire, but he no sooner landed near Soto la Marina than he was arrested, summarily tried, and executed at Padilla, on July 19. Thus came to his inglorious end the

man who had successfully joined all parties in the struggle for the attainment of independence.

**The First Constitution Is Framed.** The country desired a federal republic. Its representatives soon met and framed the first constitution of independent Mexico, which was promulgated in October, 1824. It provided for a government modeled after that of the United States. Guadalupe Victoria was inaugurated as the first president. A popular leader who had fought for independence, Victoria was honest, sincere, and tolerant. But his administration was beset by insurmountable difficulties, and he was able to accomplish but little. Business had been completely demoralized, production of silver and gold had practically ceased, and internal dissensions were increased by the strong rivalry of the representatives of Great Britain and the United States. The United States minister to Mexico, Joel R. Poinsett, distinguished son of South Carolina, seemed well fitted to represent his country creditably in Spanish America. He spoke Spanish fluently, was a gentleman to the finger tips, and had fought with the defenders of independence in Chile. But he displayed too great a zeal in aiding the advocates of federalism and soon became so involved in the internal politics of the country that Mexico asked for his recall. The British minister had meddled in politics, also, but he had done it with more tact.

President Victoria seconded Simón Bolívar's call for the first Pan-American Congress at Panama in 1826. When a little later the conference had to adjourn, owing to the unfavorable

climate of Panama, he invited it to reassemble in Mexico. Although this was not accomplished, Mexico continued for many years to press the matter of inter-American co-operation.

#### THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Victoria succeeded in serving out his term, but the election of his successor in 1828 was contested and gave an opportunity to Antonio López de Santa Anna to rebel in support of the defeated candidate Vicente Guerrero. From this time on Santa Anna was to dominate Mexican politics for a quarter of a century. He was to be on every side of every question, depending on which offered the greatest advantages to himself. Mexico was torn between republicans and monarchists, liberals and conservatives, York-rite and Scottish-rite masons. In this internal strife the threat of foreign aggression was constantly present.

**Santa Anna Comes to Power.** Four years of chaos followed, and when the smoke cleared Santa Anna had been duly elected president with Valentín Gómez Farías, a sincere and enthusiastic liberal, as vice-president. Farías, in the absence of Santa Anna, who artfully retired to his hacienda Manga de Clavo, proceeded to implement a series of reforms directed to curtail the power of the Church and the vested interests. He suppressed tithes, declared the government had the right to appoint bishops and other dignitaries of the Church, disqualified the clergy from maintaining schools, and closed the national university for its clerical tendencies.

The conservatives alarmed at these

extreme measures appealed to open revolt. Santa Anna, who had watched the excesses of Fariás with secret longings, allowed himself to be captured by the rebels and then joined them in order to return to power as the leader of the conservatives. He immediately annulled all the reforms of Fariás, suspended the Constitution of 1824, and assumed dictatorial powers. Once more the liberals were ousted, but they promptly staged a new revolution in Zacatecas.

**Texas Wins Independence.** It was at this time that the Anglo-American colonists in Texas, aided by the liberals, revolted against Santa Anna in defense of the Constitution of 1824. The movement soon became one for complete independence from Mexico and led to the invasion of Texas by Santa Anna, who marched to crush the rebellion early in 1836. After the capture of the Alamo and the massacre of Goliad, the Texans surprised the victorious Mexican army at San Jacinto on April 21, 1836, captured Santa Anna, and gained their independence, setting up a republic which lasted until its annexation to the United States in 1845.

Texas had been opened to colonization in 1820. Under the leadership of Moses Austin and his son Stephen, thousands of Anglo-Americans moved to Texas under the liberal Constitution of 1824 and the terms of the Mexican colonization laws. But misunderstandings soon arose between Mexican authorities and the new settlers. Mutual distrust widened the breach, and when in 1834 Santa Anna assumed dictatorial powers the discontented colonists revolted and suc-

cessfully won their independence from Mexico.

**War between Mexico and the United States.** The annexation of Texas to the United States—in spite of opposition by anti-slavery leaders and the warning of Mexico that such action would be considered a cause for war—resulted in the outbreak of war in May, 1846. The immediate occasion for hostilities was the dispute over the boundary of Texas, Mexico claiming the Nueces River and the United States the Rio Grande. When a Mexican patrol fired on an American scouting party that had penetrated south of the Nueces, President Polk declared that American blood had been shed on American territory by Mexico, notwithstanding the fact that the area was contested.

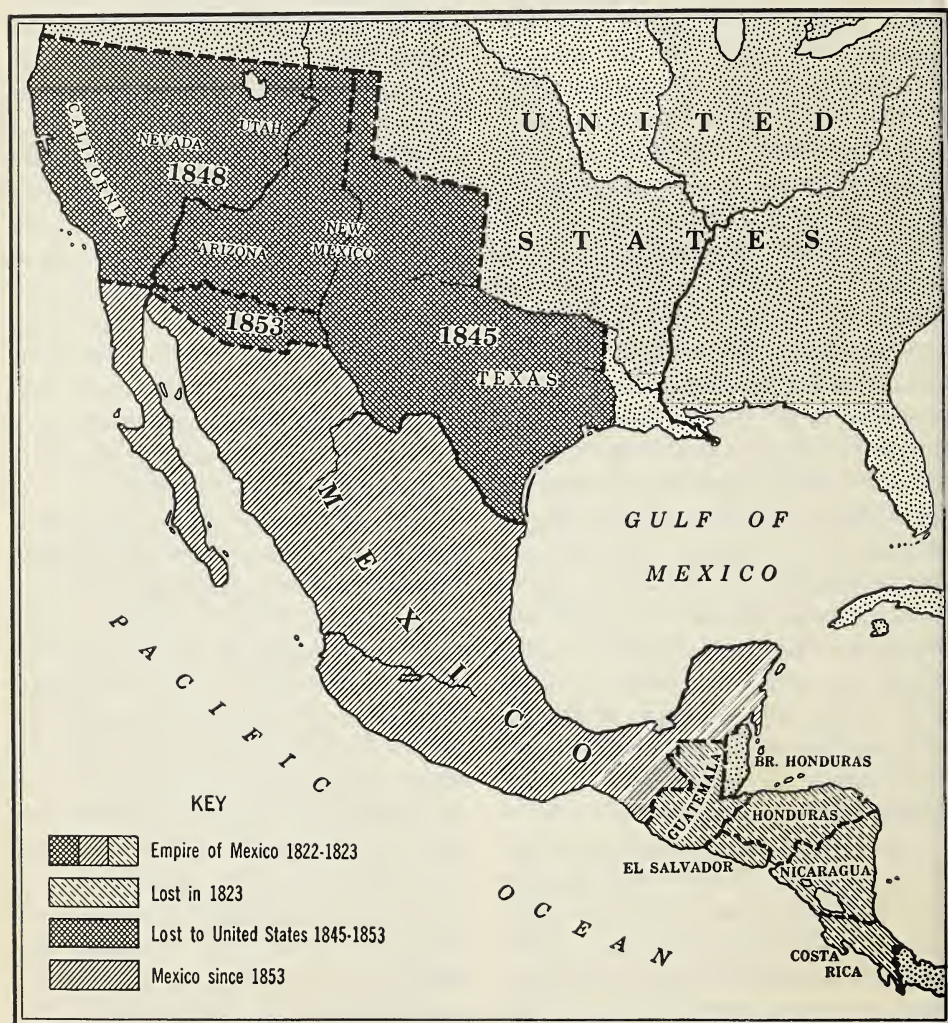
Two American armies, one under General Taylor across the Rio Grande and one under General Scott by way of Veracruz, invaded Mexico, and with little opposition eventually captured Mexico City. The war lasted from 1846 to 1848 and was closed by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo by which the United States acquired not only the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande but all of present New Mexico, Arizona, and California, as well as a large part of Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Colorado, for which Mexico was paid \$15,000,000. In 1853 through the Gadsden Purchase, negotiated with Santa Anna during his last presidency, the United States acquired for \$10,000,000, a strip of Mexican territory near the border because it offered the best route for a railroad across the southern Rockies to the Pacific coast.



### THE TRIUMPH OF LIBERALISM

The loss of more than half of its territory did not solve the principal issue that had torn Mexico since the

carry to success the ideals of the liberal party and to defend democracy in Mexico against the might of Napoleon III. This was the iron-willed Benito Juárez.



attainment of independence. The liberal and conservative parties were still struggling for supremacy. The years immediately following the Gadsden Purchase and the last dictatorship of the sinister Santa Anna saw the rise of a new leader who was destined to

**The Rise of Juárez.** Juárez was a pure-blooded Indian. His parents were peasants who cultivated their own little farm in the state of Oaxaca. At the age of twelve he journeyed to the capital of the state, thirty miles away, and found a home in a Fran-

iscan monastery. Until then he knew only the tongue spoken by his people. He soon learned Spanish and began his formal studies. His ambition, his determination to get an education, and his bright mind impressed his teachers, who urged him to become a member of the clergy. Events soon determined a different career for him. When the young Indian arrived in the capital of Oaxaca, turbide had already fallen and the liberal ideas of Guadalupe Victoria and his party had spread to the distant provinces. Juárez left the monastery and entered the new institute of arts and sciences, where he obtained a degree in law in 1834. He became interested in public affairs and, after holding several local and state offices, he was elected governor of Oaxaca. He found the public treasury empty and the whole state completely disorganized. With characteristic energy he set about its reconstruction. The state debt was paid off, roads were built, discipline in the state police was restored, and education was liberalized. But in 1853 Santa Anna became dictator of Mexico again with the aid of the clergy, the army, and the large landowners. Assuming the title of His Most Serene Highness, one of his first acts was to order the arrest of the liberal governor of Oaxaca. Put in prison in the famous but most foul jail in all Mexico, San Juan de Ulloa, in Veracruz, Juárez was able to escape on an English ship that took him to Havana, from where he went to New Orleans. For two years he lived in dismal poverty, eking out a miserable existence by rolling cigars in a cigar factory.

In New Orleans Juárez received the welcome news of a liberal outbreak in Mexico. He immediately returned to the country and took his place as a member of the cabinet of the new president, Juan Álvarez. He was the author of the law suppressing the special privileges granted to the clergy, published in 1855, and generally known as the Law Juárez. Two years later it was incorporated into the liberal Constitution of 1857. The provisions of this law completely separated Church and state. The Church possessed rich endowments in land to support education, charity, and worship. In that noncommercial period of Mexico the Church funds served as practically the sole banker, and money was loaned at a low rate of interest. In June, 1856, the Law Lerdo (named after Lerdo de Tejada, its framer) was passed. The new law, later made a part of the Constitution of 1857, provided for the sale of the Church lands. As a result the Church was looted of all wealth and property.

The archbishop of Mexico declared that all persons who accepted the new constitution would be excommunicated. The new president, Ignacio Comonfort, found himself opposed by the conservatives and was soon forced to flee. Juárez, as president of the Supreme Court, declared himself the legal successor of Comonfort under the provision of the reformed constitution. The country was torn by civil war, and Juárez and his cabinet sought refuge first in Guadalajara and then in Veracruz. The wandering president had to move from place to place with his fleeing government during the next few years, but, as someone has said, wher-



ever he was, there was the Mexican government.

### **Maximilian Attempts an Empire.**

The War of Reform, as the struggle is called, lasted until 1861, when Juárez finally returned to Mexico City in triumph. It seemed as if at last he would be free to put into effect the provisions of the liberal Constitution of 1857. But the country was in chaos. Congress was forced to suspend the payment of foreign debts. This gave an excuse to a number of reactionaries to revive the idea of a foreign monarchy as the only solution to the Mexican problem. They sent agents to Europe. Napoleon III, driven by his boundless ambition, agreed to give the renegades an emperor and the aid they sought to establish a throne in Mexico. He found an innocent, well-intentioned, handsome young prince, with a still more charming and ambitious wife, willing to undertake the venture. Maximilian and Carlotta accepted what they thought was an invitation of the Mexican people to become their sovereigns and innocently set out for their new empire, with the assurance of help from Napoleon III and the blessings of the Pope. Little did they suspect that the Mexican people were unalterably opposed to monarchy. They never understood that in the heart of the ignorant Indian dwelt an undying love for freedom and an ardent desire to manage his own affairs. It was a great surprise to Maximilian and Carlotta to discover that the Mexicans had no love for them.

French soldiers soon swarmed over Mexico and easily drove Juárez from the capital northward all the way to El Paso, Texas. But the resolute and

taciturn Indian leader of the people knew that his cause would eventually triumph. When the great war in the United States came to an end in 1865 and France was notified that the presence of her soldiers on Mexican soil was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, Juárez was encouraged. Napoleon III was prone to listen to the remonstrance, for his star had begun to set. Soon afterwards he recalled his troops. The accumulated war materials of the United States, now that the War between the States was over, were liberally placed at the disposal of Juárez. The ragged army of the unconquerable liberal turned south again. At Querétaro, Maximilian and a few of his faithful supporters were besieged and forced to surrender. Messages came from all over the world asking that the life of the prince of the House of the Hapsburgs be spared. But Juárez and the Mexican court of justice were inexorable. The world must learn the price that misguided monarchs had to pay for attempting to violate republican institutions in Mexico and to destroy the love of democratic principles possessed by the Mexican people. Maximilian and his two leading generals were shot at Querétaro in June, 1867.

**The Return of Juárez.** The conqueror returned in triumph to Mexico City. His army was in rags, the government was bankrupt, the country completely disorganized, but justice, national honor, and liberty had been reaffirmed. "America has produced two great men," wrote Victor Hugo "thee and Abraham Lincoln." When Secretary of State Seward visited Mexico in 1867 and was leaving the government palace after an inter-



view with Juárez, someone asked him what he thought of the man. Seward replied: "Juárez is the greatest man I have ever seen." Seventy-five years later, when Mexico became an ally of the United States in the greatest fight for freedom the world has ever known, a labor leader of Mexico, Lombardo Toledano, declared:

Between Mexico and the United States there is today a greater alliance than ever before. Our people understand each other as never in the past. Let us remember who has made this unity possible—Juárez and Lincoln. These two sons of the people were humble. They suffered hunger. They rose with great sacrifices, never losing touch with nature. They carried always close to them the love of the soil which gave them birth. They forged with their example the guarantee of liberty for a continent and a world.

Juárez, more fortunate than his great democratic teammate of the North, lived to put into effect many of the reforms for which he had fought so long. The greatest of his reforms was in education. The great task of reforming and organizing the schools of Mexico was entrusted to the Swiss-trained educator Gabino Barreda. Juárez strengthened the executive power and founded a conservative senate as a counterbalance. He maintained discipline in the army and improved finance and economics. He protected foreign capital, fostered irrigation and agricultural improvements, and began the building of Mexico's first railroad, from Veracruz to the capital.

In December, 1867, he was re-elected to the presidency, and again in 1871. But with the danger of foreign aggression removed, dissensions reappeared and insurrections became

common. The Indian president remained as unmoved against domestic foes as he had been against foreign invaders. With characteristic firmness he attempted to suppress all uprisings until the day of his death on July 18, 1872. Juárez was succeeded by a member of his cabinet, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, a liberal of considerable ability, who was duly elected in December of that year and served until 1876, when an attempt to re-elect him resulted in a fresh nation-wide outbreak.

### **The Long Rule of Porfirio Díaz.**

The new wave of protest brought forth a new leader destined to become the master of Mexico for more than thirty years. This was Porfirio Díaz, who, like Juárez, was from Oaxaca. As early as 1871, this liberal general, who had fought against the French in Puebla, rebelled against the reelection of his former chief, but Juárez succeeded in defeating him and his followers. The opposition decided against the perpetuation in office of Lerdo de Tejada and his party and recognized Porfirio Díaz as the leader. After the defeat of the government forces at the battle of Tecuac in November, 1876, Díaz assumed the presidency and, after putting down all factions, was declared the legal president to serve the unexpired term to 1880.

With a will as firm as that of Juárez, with much greater insight into human nature, and with a firm resolve to maintain peace at all costs and develop the dormant resources of Mexico, Díaz set himself to re-establish law and order, to encourage enterprise and industry, and to put an end to the epidemic of continuous rebellions. A great believer in the observ-

ance of the law, he tried to act in accord with it and during his first four years tempered justice with mercy by adopting exile instead of execution to remove dangerous or ambitious rivals. In 1880 he willingly retired and helped to put in office an old friend under his control, General Manuel González. But after his reelection in 1884, Díaz continued in power until 1911. Mexico had a new master, who with a steady hand guided its destinies and maintained peace at great sacrifice in order to make possible the material development of the country, attract foreign investments, and bring a measure of prosperity to the country. All this was accomplished, however, at the expense of the tenant farmer, the laboring classes, and the exploited Indian.

Díaz felt that the people were tired of reform. As a liberal, he compromised with the Church, making no effort to enforce the stringent reform laws of the Constitution of 1857. He surrounded himself with a group of strong and intelligent men. These men were known as *científicos*, which, literally translated, means "the scientific ones." While this group of "brain-trusters" worked on improved taxation and economic conditions, Don Porfirio kept himself constantly employed with the political question. He seemed to have two mottoes. The first was, "The only good revolutionist is a dead revolutionist"; and the second, "*Poca política, mucha administración*"—"Little politics, careful administration [and I will do the administering]." Foreign capitalists were invited to make investments. The great railroad builders of that

epoch in the United States were encouraged to build railroads from Laredo, Eagle Pass, El Paso, and Brownsville, Texas, to Mexico City. Loans for the improvement of public works were floated in New York, London, and Paris. The monetary system was put on the gold basis. Mexico became a small copy of the United States and the progressive European nations.

Indians were not allowed to wear their native costumes in public in the cities of Mexico. Mexican music and Mexican art were discouraged, while the European arts were encouraged. Political rights were suppressed. The press was muzzled. Opposition was a crime.

#### THE REVOLUTION OF 1910

On September 16, 1910, Mexico celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the struggle for independence by the humble parish priest Hidalgo. Diplomats from every country in the world crowded the bedecked streets of Mexico City, all enjoying lavish entertainment at the expense of the national treasury. Praise for Don Porfirio was on every tongue—at least on the tongues of the foreigners and the *científicos*. But Mexico itself was far from pleased with this expenditure of money for the glorification of the president. Exactly one month after the celebration came the first indication of impending revolution. The glittering edifice of his glory suddenly crumbled like a pack of cards. By May of the next year, the once all-powerful Don Porfirio knew that the game was up. He slipped out in the dead of night from Chapultepec Castle to the railway station, and with a few friends, made

is way secretly to Veracruz. There he took a waiting ship and sailed away to Europe, never to return. There are people in Mexico City today who, at least figuratively, mount the top of a downtown building and turn their binoculars anxiously out toward the Gulf and the Atlantic. They are looking for Don Porfirio and the glorious days of the past to come again. But their number is rapidly diminishing.

**Madero and Huerta.** The portly and majestic figure of Díaz was replaced by that of a nervous little man, who seemed always to be waving his hands, always talking about liberty, and always shouting about the future. He was Francisco Madero, one of many brothers, sons of a great landowner in the State of Coahuila. The rest of the family looked upon Francisco with condescension and bewildered amusement. As one of them put it: "We sent Francisco to Paris to learn the language. He didn't learn French, but he succeeded in forgetting Spanish." But Francisco never lost his determination to give Mexico real democracy. He began by agitating for free elections. When he was liberated from the prison in San Luis Potosí, where he had been placed for safekeeping during the celebration of the centennial of Mexican independence, he needed little time to gather about him a motley group of students, university professors, and cowboys. With the able military leadership of General Abraham González, and of the veteran Pascual Orozco, and with the rollicking bravery of Pancho Villa, the bandit, Madero rapidly made his way to Mexico City. It was when the revolutionists ap-

proached dangerously close that Don Porfirio took the night special to Veracruz.

The little, excited, idealistic Madero now marched into Mexico City and took his place in the big chair formerly occupied by Porfirio Díaz. He had little idea of the details of administration. He did not understand the treachery of the former friends of Díaz, who hastened to protest their utmost loyalty to the new regime. When the crowd gained control of a part of the army and attacked Mexico City, the president inadvertently gave the command of the government forces to General Victoriano Huerta. This unscrupulous military chieftain shamelessly betrayed the unsuspecting man in the National Palace. Francisco Madero, the idealist, and his vice-president, Pino Suárez, were foully assassinated after they had been arrested by Huerta. The crafty old Indian general now (in 1913) assumed command at Chapultepec. For more than a year he ruled with great violence and cruelty.

President Woodrow Wilson, sitting in the White House, was shocked at the terrible scene in Mexico. He refused to recognize Huerta. This enabled Huerta to play up "Yankee imperialism" to maintain himself in the presidential chair. When it was found that a German steamer was about to land with a great supply of munitions for Huerta, Wilson ordered the United States Marines to take Veracruz. The military occupation of this port continued for several months during the year 1914.

Once aroused, the Mexicans were determined not to be cheated in their struggle for reform. Venustiano Car-



ranza, governor of the northern state of Coahuila, rebelled against Huerta. When Carranza gained strength, further difficulties arose between the two countries. War between the United States and Mexico was averted only by mediation offered by the so-called A B C Powers, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In 1915 the former dignified senator, Venustiano Carranza, was recognized by the United States as president of Mexico. Fighting still continued between various factions. By 1917, however, Carranza was able to call together the leaders of the revolution at Querétaro, the town where Juárez had forever silenced the hopes of Prince Maximilian.

The famous Constitution of 1917 was written at Querétaro. Most of the document followed rather closely the Juárez Constitution of 1857, which, in turn, had been based on the Constitution of the United States. Three famous articles, however, changed the whole complexion of Mexican government. These were Articles 3, 27, and 123. The latter occupied several pages in the printed document and defined in detail the rights of labor. It proved to be so popular that today "Artículo 123" is the name of an important street in Mexico City. Article 3 defined education as a duty of the state and not of the Church or other private agencies. Article 27 dealt with the land, its ownership, its subdivision, and the mineral and oil rights. Here is to be found the very heart and soul of the revolution of 1910 against the dictator Díaz. From the time of the conquistadors the ownership of land by the few had constituted the greatest problem. Independence had ag-

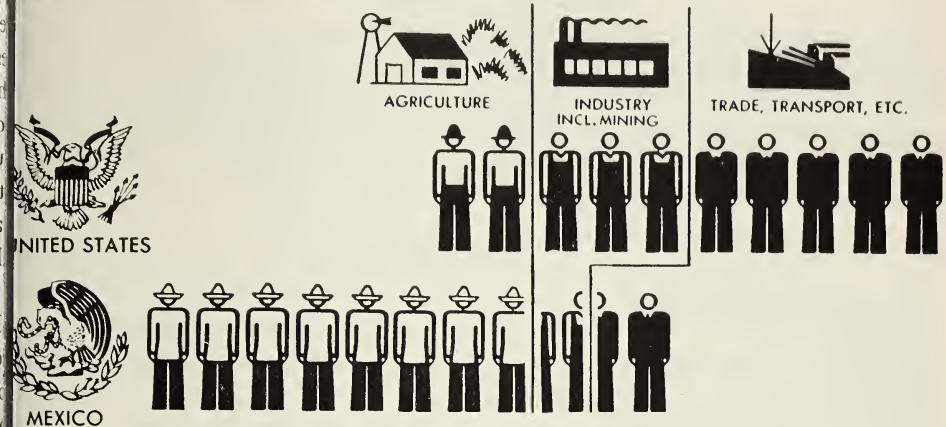
gravated the question. All efforts of the liberals to break up the great landed estates had actually resulted in their enlargement. The greatest complaint against Díaz was that he had abolished the *ejido* (tracts of land belonging to an Indian community), and permitted his friends to take possession of these communal lands of the Indian pueblos, the only thing left to them.

Article 27 provided for the breaking up of these great landed estates and their distribution to the common people. This proved to be an enormous problem. However, by 1935 7,041 *ejidos* had been restored to 895,284 heads of families. About one third of the land of these *ejidos* was tillable, and the other two thirds was pasturage.

Closely connected with the land problem was that of labor. Most of the great estates counted thousands of peons who worked for the landowners with little possibility of escape. In the cities labor unions had been forbidden. The whole question of free and organized labor was of primary importance to Mexico. Twenty years after Article 123 had been theoretically adopted, most of the modern practices of labor, including the eight-hour day, bargaining between unions and companies, the protection of women and children in industry, and minimum wages had been carried into practice.

From the days of Cortés down to the modern industrialist, foreigners have dominated Mexico. The Constitution of 1917 set certain limits on these privileges—a foreigner owning property in Mexico must agree to have all legal questions in regard

## MEXICO IS AN AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY



Each symbol represents 10% of the total working population

*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

land settled by Mexican courts, and he must promise not to appeal to his own government for adjustment. Since foreigners owned 97 per cent of the petroleum properties in Mexico, the provision concerning subsoil (mineral and oil) rights applied almost solely to them. This provision, copied after an ancient Spanish and Mexican law, stated that all subsoil products belonged to the nation. These limitations immediately brought on strenuous protests from foreign property owners and their governments. It was not until November 19, 1941, with the threat of war hanging over the United States and Mexico, that final adjustments were made concerning the quarrel over the petroleum and land questions.

The Church was affected by several articles in the constitution. It will be remembered that the Constitution of 1857 had confiscated the lands belonging to the Church. The Constitution of 1917 went further and declared that all ecclesiastical property would become the property of the nation.

Church edifices might be used by local congregations who made application to the government for such use. Foreigners were prohibited from exercising the ministry, that is, performing the rites reserved for priest or pastor. These provisions caused as much protest as those limiting the economic rights of the foreigner. After a quarter century of struggle between the Church and the state, peace was declared. ✓

Education in Mexico was profoundly affected by Article 3. The Roman Catholic, Protestant, and other private schools were compelled to submit to government supervision or close their doors. The federal government endeavored to assume the complete responsibility for the education of the children. Many a struggle ensued between the conservatives and liberals concerning the enforcement of Article 3. It will probably be some time before this question is entirely settled. The greatest improvement in Mexico is due, however, to the new developments in edu-

cation. In 1921 the movement for rural schools was begun. The Mexican Educational Mission was developed, whereby some six or eight experts in teaching as many subjects would open an experimental school in a central village. To this school would be invited groups of teachers from neighboring towns for the purpose of entering a month's special training along the lines of socialized education. The rural schools centered their attention on the development of the whole community. Adults as well as children were required to attend. The community was organized for the purpose of improving its agriculture, its roads, its health, and its connections with the outside world. The rural schoolteachers became the protectors of the Indian and the leaders in every good cause.

The most important chief executives since the death of Carranza in 1920 have been Generals Álvaro Obregón, Plutarco Elías Calles, Lázaro Cárdenas, and Manuel Ávila Camacho. Obregón assumed office on December 1, 1920. His administration is best known for bringing a measure of order out of chaos and the development of rural schools. Calles carried through a full four-year term (1924-1928). His administration was noted for a clarification of some of the many difficulties between Mexico and the United States, through the friendship developed between the president and the United States Ambassador, Dwight Morrow. Calles continued his influence in the government following his retirement. When he endeavored to dominate President Cárdenas (1934-1940), he was exiled to the United States.

**Cárdenas Befriends Indians and Labor.** The social revolution begun in 1910 reached its height under President Cárdenas. He distributed more land than all the other presidents combined. He took the side of labor in various struggles with industrial companies. When the British and North American oil companies refused to accept the demands of their workmen, the president took over their properties and conducted them as a government enterprise. As a friend of the common people, he spent much time traveling in rural sections and consulting with the Indians about their needs. When Loyalist Spain was defeated by Franco, Cárdenas demonstrated his friendship for democracy in the international field by inviting a large number of Spanish refugees to settle in Mexico. Rural education was greatly advanced during the administration of Cárdenas.

With the election of General Ávila Camacho in 1940 *evolution*, rather than the *revolution*, became the popular word. The new president announced a policy of peace with the Church and with the investors of foreign capital, and definitely sought the middle of the road in social reform. In 1942 practically all the long-standing disputes between the United States and Mexico were settled. After a hundred years of almost continuous quarreling, the two countries adopted a policy of close co-operation. Mexico agreed to pay American owners of land and oil properties the sums that an international commission should decide was just for properties that had been expropriated. The United States agreed to loan Mexico the





*Photo by James Savders*

This is a hemp-drying scene in Yucatán. The henequen plant, from which hemp is made, is allowed to grow for seven years before it is cut. The fleshy part of the plant is run through rollers. The fiber is then dried and shipped.

needed money to finish the Pan-American Highway and to build steel and other factories which would furnish the United States needed war materials. On June 1, 1942, Mexico definitely became an ally of the United States and the other United Nations in the war against the Axis powers.

**Movement for Social Justice.** One of the most important events on the American continent during the twentieth century has been the Mexican revolution. Like the upheavals in Turkey, Russia, and China, it has compelled the people to re-think, and reorganize their life. It preceded the

Russian revolution, to which it is often erroneously traced. At the beginning, under the leadership of Madero, it was principally political, but, under the group of progressive young men who surrounded Carranza, it became a social revolution whose basic charter is the Constitution of 1917. It was more than a military revolt. It was a social upheaval, a revolution that has affected the public mind. Probably not since the founding of democracy in the United States has anything more original been undertaken in the New World. A North American capitalistic pattern of life is being reshaped by a

mestizo communal system. Private property and the modern machine are not eliminated but are subordinated to the welfare of the community. The fundamental place of land in Mexican life is being emphasized. Loyalty to native values is superseding foreign imitation.

**Climate and Products.** Mexico is no less diverse in its physical scene than it is in racial and cultural matters. From snow-capped volcanoes one can descend to narrow, valley bottom lands and coastal lowlands. In the highlands the air is cool even in summer, while in the low-lying regions

the temperature becomes very uncomfortable, especially in summer. To the mining engineer the rich ores of gold, silver, zinc, and copper and the vast oil fields make Mexico a land of golden opportunity. But for farming, Mexico is a relatively poor country, since much of its land is too dry or too mountainous to be easily tilled. The main agricultural crops are corn, beans, cotton, coffee, bananas, and chick peas. Henequen fiber (used in the making of rope) is cultivated in Yucatán and Campeche. More than 100,000 tons of this fiber are produced and exported annually.

### Words and Terms to Learn

<i>ejido</i>	henequen
peons	Querétaro Constitution
subsoil rights	expropriation of property
labor laws	<i>status quo</i>

### People to Identify

Morelos	Porfirio Díaz
Iturbide	Carranza
Cárdenas	Madero
Avila Camacho	Huerta

### Learning through Discussion

1. Why is Mexico sometimes called "the frontier of the race"?
2. Explain the land system which Cortés established.
3. What contributions to Mexico's history were made by each of the two priests, Hidalgo and Morelos?
4. For what acts is Santa Anna mentioned in the histories of the United States? What was his policy in regard to the reforms of President Gómez Farías?
5. What caused the war between Mexico and the United States? How do you suppose the Mexicans felt about the terms of the treaty of peace?
6. What did the Constitution of 1857 provide concerning the Church? How did this lead to the coming of Emperor Maximilian?
7. How did the United States apply the Monroe Doctrine to Maximilian?
8. Why is Juárez often compared to Abraham Lincoln?



9. Contrast the policies of Díaz with those which Juárez had followed.
10. What was Madero's policy, and why did he fail?
11. On what previous constitution did Carranza base his Constitution of 1917?
12. How did Article 27 attempt to reverse the land policy established by Cortés?
13. What is the importance of Article 123?
14. How did the constitution affect the Church?
15. What did Article 3 provide concerning education?
16. Why is the Mexican revolution called "one of the most important events on the American continent during the twentieth century"?
17. What two incidents made President Wilson especially unpopular in Mexico?
18. Why is Mexico called "one of the mineral treasure houses of the world"?

### Learning through Maps

Draw a series of maps showing the territory of Mexico

- (a) Under the viceroy of New Spain
- (b) Under the Mexican flag in 1821
- (c) After peace with the United States was arranged in 1853

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a report on Cortés's establishment in Mexico of great landed states, with peon labor, and how these influenced later Mexican life.
2. Prepare a talk for the class or general assembly on the friendship between President Lincoln and President Juárez.
3. Develop an exhibit of Mexican materials, which your classmates and friends possess, adding any other objects available in your community.
4. Make a list of the good and bad effects of the Mexican revolution begun in 1910.
5. Make a list of the good and bad influences of United States capital invested in Mexico.
6. Collect some of the important sayings of Mexican statesmen and make them into a poster for the classroom.
7. Show how the whole history of Mexico can be explained by a study of the lives of the five great characters: Cortés, Hidalgo, Juárez, Díaz, and Madero.
8. Arrange a debate on the subject: The Mexican government was right in taking the oil wells from the owners in the United States.
9. Investigate the way in which the Mexican government has distributed land to the poor people and show whether or not this has benefited the country.
10. Work out a project for developing friendship between Mexican and United States children in cities like San Antonio, Texas, and Los Angeles, California, where many Mexicans live. Each student should submit his ideas to the class as a whole for discussion and appraisal.



### Opinion Tests

Students may respond to the following statements as true or false, or say that they have no positive reaction to the statement.

1. Mexicans are inferior to Americans.
2. Mexicans are as much "Americans" as are the people of the United States.
3. Canadians are better neighbors than Mexicans.
4. Former parts of Mexico such as California, Texas, and New Mexico should study with pride their early history.
5. Tourists visiting Mexico do more harm than good.
6. This statement of Victor Hugo was untrue: "America has created two great men, Juárez and Lincoln."
7. The Mexicans robbed the oil men of the United States of their property.
8. Mexico is more democratic than the United States because its government distributed land to the poor.
9. The Mexican Revolution of 1910 has not been a good thing for the country because it has kept foreigners from investing their money there.

## X. CENTRAL AMERICA

In few places has geography so dominated politics and foreign intrigue as in Central America. This is because of three especially attractive routes for uniting the Atlantic and the Pacific—Panama, Nicaragua, and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The six republics of Central America, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and newly added Panama stretch 1,200 miles from the southern border of Mexico to Colombia. They are of utmost interest to the United States. Even though they are sparsely settled for the most part, they constitute one of the most important strategic areas of the world and are becoming increasingly valuable economically. They lie wholly within the tropics. Their rich soil and abundant rainfall make them a source of much agricultural wealth.

In colonial days, five of the divisions of Central America which are now republics were under the one Viceroyalty of Guatemala. Panama was then a part of the province which we now know as Colombia. The independence of the provinces of the captaincy general of Guatemala was secured without great effort in 1821, and in 1823 they formed the United Provinces of Central America. Unfortunately local jealousies did not permit the continuance of the federation, which was dissolved by an

act of its own Congress on May 30, 1838.

Ever since that date the most discussed subject is that of the reunion of these countries. Jealousy among local politicians and intrigues of foreign countries have prevented the success of this effort. But the Central American countries are coming closer together. Their ultimate union now seems easier of attainment.

### GUATEMALA

Guatemala is the largest in territory and population of the Central American republics. Its people are overwhelmingly Indian. Its gorgeous landscapes, snow-capped mountains, and picturesque lakes make it a mecca for visitors. Politically it has suffered much from despotic rulers, and has, at times, not escaped the imperialistic desires of Mexico, its northern neighbor. It in turn has often endeavored to impose its will on its smaller neighbors to the south.

**Politics.** Guatemala's story from 1838, when the Central American confederation broke up, revolves around four powerful rulers. The first of these was a forceful Indian youth named Rafael Carrera, who governed first as the head of the army and later, in 1844, as the president. Carrera built up a strong following among the conservatives. When an



The republics of Central America and the West Indies today.



epidemic of cholera swept the country in 1837, he capitalized on a story that the liberals had poisoned the wells to kill off the natives and prepare for a Protestant invasion from Great Britain. Under Carrera, Guatemala had a period of relative tranquillity. He was an absolute ruler. In 1847 he was compelled to retire from power. Two years later, however, he came back supported by the devotion of a well-paid army, the masses of Indians who were blindly devoted to him, and the conservative property owners, both native and foreign. His grudge against the liberals was carried across national borders when he upset liberal regimes in El Salvador and Honduras. In 1851 he was elected president for life and served in that office until his death in 1865.

The second strong man was Justo Rufino Barrios. Overturning the conservative president, Vicente Cerna, in 1871, he initiated a liberal regime comparable to the one of Benito Juárez in Mexico. The building of railroads initiated prosperity, and the development of schools gave hope to the people. But he ruled with an iron hand. His defeat came in the same way as did that of other Central American leaders—in an effort, in 1885, to bring about the union of the five republics.

General Barrios had the gift of surrounding himself with competent men. He brought teachers from Spain and South America. He journeyed to Europe and returned by way of the United States, where he signed an agreement with President Grant for the building of a railroad to connect Guatemala, through Mexico, with the

United States. Impatient for reforms, he ruled despotically. He was killed while at war with El Salvador in an effort to bring about the union of the Central American republics.

Manuel Estrada Cabrera, eleven years after the death of General Barrios, succeeded in making himself dictator. He ruled from 1898 to 1920. He lacked the culture and vision of the great Barrios. He was of strong Indian blood, like his neighbor dictator, Porfirio Díaz, whom he imitated in his policy of co-operation with the United States. But he never developed the finer qualities of Díaz, which brought to the side of the Mexican ruler the intellectuals and the efficiency experts. His last years were spent as a virtual prisoner in a fortress near Guatemala City, hated by large numbers of his fellow citizens whom he had ruined.

Jorge Ubico was a general, as had been his predecessors, when he assumed power in 1931. He initiated reforms along the lines of other modern dictators. Modern roads, provisions against graft, social-insurance laws, and promotion of education were among his projects. He fostered a new constitution which provided for his continuance in power, six years after his re-election in 1937.

**Commerce and Climate.** Guatemala finds its main support in the export of coffee and bananas. Much cotton and sugar are also produced. It has a good railway system which connects the Atlantic and the Pacific, as well as its northern and southern borders with Mexico and El Salvador respectively. Since the completion of the Pan-American Highway, the country has a total of 3,000 miles of splen-

did roads, which add to its many other attractions for tourists. Guatemala City, the capital, is 5,000 feet above sea level, with a delightful climate, attractive hotels, and interesting Indian markets.

Guatemala is the chief commercial country of Central America. It has an Atlantic seaboard of 70 miles and a Pacific coast line of 200 miles. About two thirds of the country—the western and southern areas—is mountainous and volcanic. The altitude of the towns is from 1,000 to 8,000 feet, and the climate is healthful and of an even, spring-like warmth. The coast lands and northern region, low-lying and tropical, are covered with dense vegetation. There are two seasons—wet, from May to October, and dry, from November to April. The mean annual temperature in the *tierra caliente*, or lowlands, is about 80° F., and that of the *templada* about 58° F. The winter months are 6 to 12 degrees cooler than the hot months of March and April. The Cordillera of the Andes is towards the Pacific coast. Of the numerous volcanoes only two are still active. Fuego (12,581 feet), long extinct, erupted once more in 1932 and is still smoking.

#### HONDURAS

The word *Honduras* signifies "the depths." During the first years of the country's independence, the name did not seem inappropriate. Dominated by its overwhelmingly more populous neighbors, Guatemala and El Salvador, Honduras suffered continuous interference from them. It has, like Belgium, been declared a neutral country in efforts to protect it from its neighbors. Honduras has also been

subject to peculiarly severe exploitation by foreign capital. A loan was floated in London in 1865 to build a railroad from the sea to the capital. In 1942 the line had not yet been completed. Not more than a tenth of the loan of £500,000,000 has ever reached Honduras.

**Politics.** The great leader of Honduras was Francisco Morazán. For an analysis of his character we are indebted to the distinguished traveler and diplomat from the United States, John L. Stephens. This talented gentleman, who traveled in and wrote widely about Central America, described Morazán as "the best man in Central America." He was the leader of the Central American Federation, a man of advanced ideas even in the year 1821, when he joined in the declaration of independence from Spain. He sought aid from England to set up schools for the common people. He copied laws from the United States. But the barbarous hordes led by the Guatemalan conservative Carrera, the fanaticism of other leaders, the lack of communications, and the general backwardness of economic and social life hounded this great man to his death in 1842. He was killed in Costa Rica in a last supreme effort to bring about the re-establishment of the Central American Federation.

The political history for the next seventy-five years was one of continual armed struggle. In 1911, when the government was overthrown by Manuel Bonilla, the United States called a conference of revolutionary leaders aboard the U. S. S. *Tacoma* to restore order. Bonilla was allowed to retain the presidency. At Bonilla's death, in



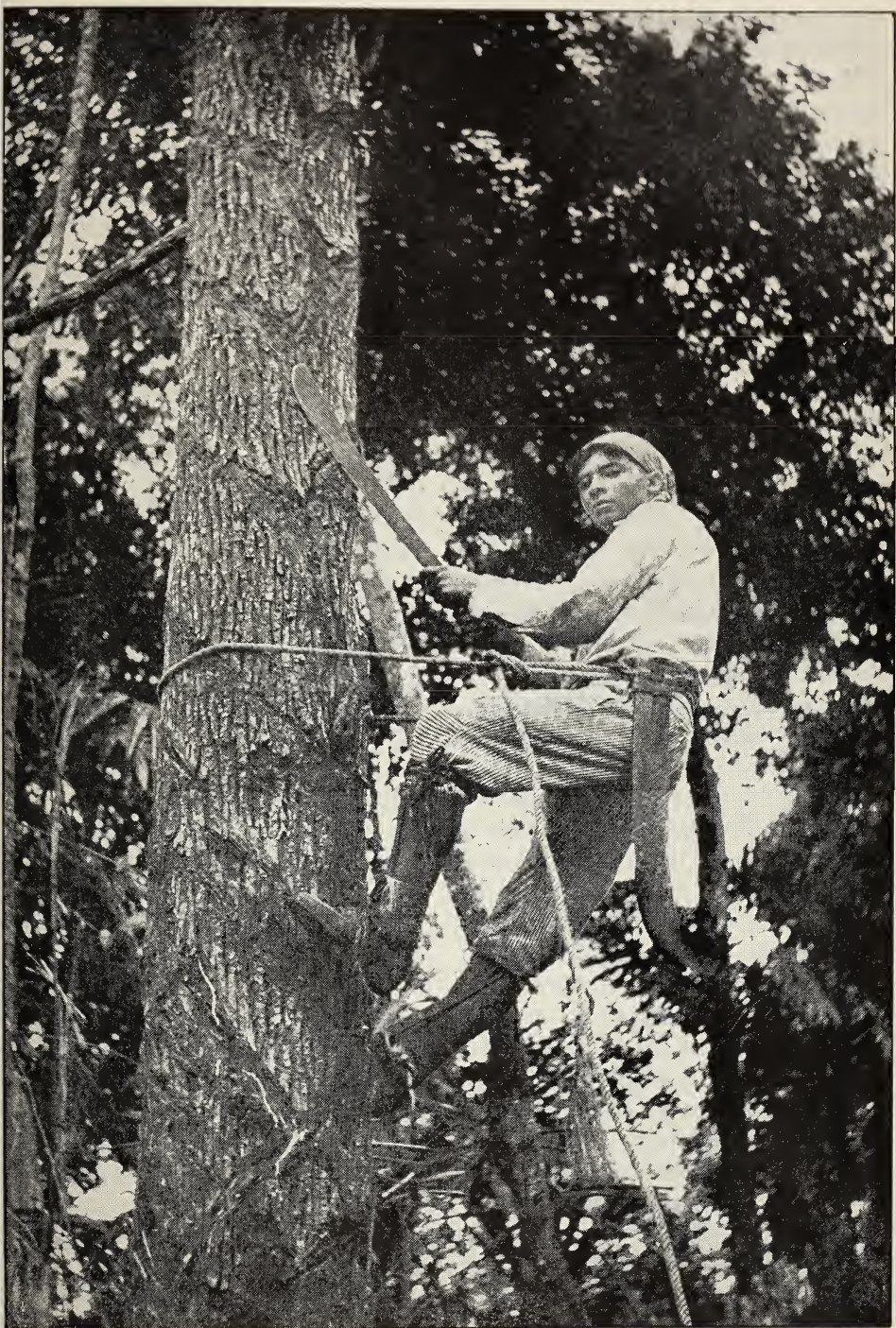


Photo from Ewing Galloway

This young Guatemalan is called a *chiclero*, because it is his business to tap the sapodilla tree for the sap from which chewing gum is made.



1913, Dr. Francisco Bertrand, the vice-president, succeeded him, ruling from 1913 to 1920. In 1933 a strong man, General Tiburcio Carias Andino, became president. Like General Ubico of Guatemala, he had the constitution changed to authorize him to continue in office beyond his regular term.

**Economic and Social Status.** Honduras has about one million people. Its backwardness is due to its isolation and to the fact that its political life has been continually upset. It has been drawn into practically every one of the numerous Central American wars. Lack of adequate means of transportation is another reason for its slow progress. The airplane has had a remarkable influence in advancing the life of the people in the last ten years. The main agricultural products of Honduras are bananas, corn, cacao, tobacco, and coffee. Mahogany, gold, and silver are important exports.

#### EL SALVADOR

El Salvador is unique for several reasons. It is the most densely populated country on the American mainland. It is the only Central American country facing entirely on the Pacific. It is especially strong in its foreign policy and in 1920, before joining the League of Nations, asked the United States for a definition of the Monroe Doctrine. It is the only American republic that ever asked to be taken into the United States as a free and sovereign state. The occasion of this remarkable petition was when the ill-fated Emperor Iturbide of Mexico threatened to add Central America to his proposed empire. In these days of world tension the following paragraph

of the appeal which El Salvador made at that time is worth recalling:

You, heroic people of North America, you who also suffered for long years servitude and oppression, who gained your liberty, making for yourselves laws which have made you prosperous and happy; you who see in every man a brother and in every American a being worthy of your help—do not deny us our desire, admit us to your Union, grant protection to a people who have long suffered oppression and whose aim is to be free.

By Act of Congress, El Salvador declared its annexation to the United States of America on November 22, 1822, confirmed by the Decree of December 2 of the same year. The Act of Annexation and the Decree were sent with the appeal to the Congress of the United States by two special envoys and members of Congress, Juan Manuel Rodríguez and Manuel José Arce. The Emperor Iturbide protested this move to the United States, and the Congress rejected the petition. Meanwhile Iturbide's empire crumbled and the Central American Federation was established. The Salvadorean patriot, Manuel José Arce, was elected its first president and was recalled from his mission in the United States to take the leadership of the new confederation.

After independence was declared, the great Salvadorean José Simón Cañas was sent as representative to the Congress of the Confederation from El Salvador. He was in extremely poor health at the time, but he accepted the appointment in order that he might present personally to the Congress a motion. He said, in part:

If I were dying, even, I would come, to present a motion beneficial to helpless humanity, with all the energy that a

representative of the people should display, in promoting matters of great interest to the welfare of the country and to society. I move that before any business of the day be transacted this Congress declare our brothers, the slaves, free citizens.

This motion was carried unanimously, and the words of Cañas were so inspiring and sincere that no one in Central America asked any indemnification whatever for freeing the slaves, despite the fact that there was such a provision in the act itself. This was accomplished some forty years before the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln.

The last president of the Central American Federation was General Francisco Morazán of Honduras. In his will he left his ashes to El Salvador. Today they rest in the cemetery of the city of San Salvador.

**Politics.** From 1842-1845, El Salvador was united to Nicaragua and Honduras. In 1846 Eugenio Aguilar, a liberal, was made president. But he could not retain his seat because of the opposition of the clergy. Francisco Dueñas, in 1852, endeavored to introduce financial and educational betterment. Constant interference on the part of Carrera and other dictators of Guatemala and backward economic conditions delayed progress. In 1880 a new constitution was approved under President Rafael Zaldívar, who was elected for a second term. From 1895 to 1898 the country was again united with its neighbors, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Six presidents ruled El Salvador from 1911 to 1942. Along with political disturbances it was a period of progress. In 1931 a revolution placed General Maximiliano Hernández Mar-

tínez in power. In spite of his professional appearance and a certain interest in the welfare of the laboring classes, he displayed a strong arm on occasion. An uprising that he claimed was started by Communists in 1932 was put down with great cruelty. Because the country resigned from the League of Nations in 1937, purchased planes from Italy, recognized the government of Manchukuo, and stopped immigration from the Near East, it was reported that the government favored the Axis powers. However, following the outbreak of the second World War, El Salvador showed a desire to co-operate with the United States. Along with the other Central American countries, it declared war on the Axis powers in December of 1941. A new constitution was adopted in 1939, which extended President Martínez' term until 1945.

Since the establishment of the republic El Salvador has progressed steadily. In 1841 the University of El Salvador was founded. All education is secular, with primary and higher education equally free. The former is compulsory. Although the people are Roman Catholic for the most part, the separation of Church and state occurred in 1886, and there is complete freedom of worship in the country. Boundary disputes have been settled amicably, and El Salvador is on friendly terms with its neighbors.

**Products and Industries.** This agricultural land finds its main wealth in the high quality of its coffee, which represents about 90 per cent of the country's exports. Other exports include balsam — erroneously known as "balsam of Peru," because in the colonial days Spain routed exports by

way of Peru — sugar, indigo, and henequen (the fibers of which are used to make binder twine). However, in the last few years El Salvador has taken on an industrial aspect: the textile and shoe industries export their wares to the neighboring countries; the industry of henequen bags (for the shipment of agricultural products) is well established. Textile mills supply an important part of the local needs. Pharmaceutical products of standard quality are now being manufactured. Mining is also an important factor in El Salvador's economic life. Gold, silver, and coal form the principal mineral deposits. There are other products which will surely attract the tourist but which cannot be classed as industries: articles woven from fibers, saddles, earthenware, leather goods, and silk goods from native looms. In normal times El Salvador imports chiefly from the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

The Republic of El Salvador is one of the smallest in the Western Hemisphere, containing only slightly more than 13,000 square miles. It is one thirteenth the area of Central America and about the size of the state of Maryland. Its population of 1,750,000 gives it a density of 133 to the square mile, as compared with 42 to the square mile in the United States. The section of the Pan-American Highway through El Salvador is an all-paved road which has been in use for some time.

#### NICARAGUA

The whole history of Nicaragua revolves around the possibilities of the construction of a trans-isthmian canal. First, a few words about its geography

are necessary. The east coast is a wild region, completely separated from the main section of the republic, which is centered in the west. Great Britain and other foreign countries used the Mosquito Indians and other portions of the backward population on the Gulf of Mexico side to plot against the capital at Managua. The San Juan River, bounding Costa Rica and Nicaragua, is the only approach to the east coast. The proposed canal route would bring ships from the Gulf of Mexico up the San Juan River to the great Lake Nicaragua. From the west bank of this lake it is only about twenty-two miles to the Pacific Ocean.

A review of the hundred years of Nicaraguan history is difficult without making it a mere catalogue of dictators and intrigues with foreign powers. When the Central American Federation broke up in 1838, the country adopted its own constitution and started on the precarious road of self-government. As early as 1841 President Pablo Benigno had a dispute with Great Britain concerning the sovereignty of the San Juan River. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 was an agreement that neither the United States nor Great Britain would seek exclusive control over any future canal.

**William Walker.** The famous William Walker with his band of adventurers arrived in Nicaragua in 1855. Walker, who was born in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1824, was a man with some education and broad experience. He was a self-appointed agent of the United States to enlarge its territory. He had led an expedition to the northwestern part of Mexico but was defeated in his idea of declaring that region independent. He turned up in



Nicaragua in 1855 with fifty-seven men. These were soon increased to several hundred. He attacked the town of Rivas, from which, however, he was compelled to withdraw. Later he returned to battle, defeated the so-called Legitimist forces, and marched against their stronghold, the city of Granada. He entered into negotiations with the Granada leaders and set up Patricio Rivas as president. He had himself appointed commander of the army. Walker then re-enforced his army with more North American adventurers. When General Corral, then secretary of war, plotted against him, Walker had Corral arrested and shot. He declared himself president of Nicaragua, legalized slavery, executed two North American traitors, and confiscated the property of the enemy. Gradually he antagonized all the Central American states. He also made the mistake of quarreling with the managers of the Transit Company, the American corporation which had the concession of transit across the Isthmus. As a result, he lost their help in the transportation of soldiers and supplies. Hard pressed by the united Central American forces, Walker was defeated and eventually surrendered to the commander of an American warship (1857). Three years later, when he returned to Honduras, he was taken prisoner by a captain of the British Navy and was surrendered to the Honduran authorities. He was tried and executed on September 12, 1860. Thus ended the noted filibuster's efforts to lengthen the lifeline of the United States by expansion in the Central American area.

**The United States Takes a Hand.** No sooner had Walker been disposed

of than opposing factions were again at each other's throats. In 1893 there appeared a brilliant young liberal, José Santos Zelaya, who dominated the republic from 1894 to 1909. His methods gradually became dictatorial because of constant revolts on the part of the conservative party. Zelaya also interfered in the affairs of neighboring states. The United States disliked the tactics of Zelaya and feared that he would not favor a concession to this country for building a canal. Consequently, when a revolution was started against the dictator, the United States intervened to back Juan Estrada, who became president. Intervention — that is, the policy of sending soldiers to protect United States interests in certain Latin-American countries — became the rule during this period. From that time until 1933, with the exception of a brief period of time, a strong guard of United States marines was kept in Managua, the capital. During those years the presidents of Nicaragua were usually chosen with the advice of the United States. Such a president was Adolfo Díaz, who was inaugurated on May 11, 1911, and who was maintained in office during his presidential term by the help of the United States. In 1914 the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which gave the United States the privilege of building an inter-oceanic canal, was signed.

In the next election General Emiliano Chamorro, the joint author of the treaty, was chosen president, again with the help of the United States, and served until 1921. In 1925 Chamorro led a revolution against President Carlos Solórzano and unseated him. The United States refused to recognize the new government and forced

elections to be held. As a result, Adolfo Díaz again became president. The famous rebel, Agustino Sandino, started a revolution in the jungles of the east coast and proved too difficult for the United States marines to capture. In 1932 Dr. Sacasa was elected to the presidency and served a four-year term. General Anastasio Somoza, head of the national guard, which had been trained by the marines, juggled himself into the presidency in 1936. In the meantime, Sandino had agreed to work with the government. However, in 1937 he was waylaid and assassinated as he was leaving President Somoza's residence. Although President Hoover had announced his intention of withdrawing the marines from Nicaragua, they were not fully retired until 1933, under President Roosevelt's administration.

**Economic and Social Development.** In the population of Nicaragua, which numbers about 650,000, there is a great deal of racial intermixture. This has resulted in less inequality between classes than in some other countries of Latin America. Granada is the center of wealth, the home of the wealthy planters, while the rival city, León, is the liberal center, where there are large numbers of writers, teachers, and students. The chief industries are agriculture and mining. The major commercial products are coffee, bananas, gold, cotton, lumber, hides, and skins.

#### COSTA RICA

Costa Rica is outstanding, not only in Central America, but in all Spanish America for its splendid record in democracy and education. It joined the Central American Federation in 1821,

but was in and out of that unsteady union until its extinction in 1838.

**Political Developments.** In 1830 President Juan Rafael Mora inaugurated economic and governmental reforms. In 1838, when independence was declared, Braulio Carrillo became president. His government was overthrown by General Francisco Morazán in an effort again to restore the Central American Federation. Carrillo was captured and shot by his enemies. Costa Rica entered a period of anarchy similar to her sister republics, which lasted until 1849 when former President Mora again took office. He restored order and initiated reforms. A half-dozen presidents ruled between 1859 and 1870, when a strong-arm government was initiated by Tomás Guardia. He imposed a new centralized constitution in December, 1871, which has been only slightly changed since then. Guardia died in 1882, while president. Clericals and liberals swapped power from then until the election of Bernardo Soto in 1886, and Rafael Iglésias y Castro in 1894, when the country began to enter its modern period. One of the youngest presidents, Alfredo González Flores, in 1914, initiated reforms in regard to the banana and oil industries. He was soon overthrown. The United States refused to recognize the next president, Federico Tinoco, on the basis of the rule of the State Department that governments securing power by revolution were not acceptable to Washington. The grand old man, Ricardo Jiménez Oreamundo, was elected president in 1910, in 1924, and in 1932. When the populace clamored for another term in 1936, he threatened to call out the





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

**Raising bananas has become a big business in Costa Rica and other Caribbean countries. Most of the bananas are shipped to the United States.**

police to prevent demonstrations in favor of his candidacy.

León Cortés Castro succeeded Jiménez in 1936. His program embraced economic stabilization, anti-communism, and a general improvement of agricultural conditions. The properties of the Electric Bond and Share Company of New York were expropriated, with indemnity to the company. A tax expert from Chile was engaged. A Board of Agricultural Co-operation was organized. The forty-year boundary dispute with Panama was settled.

On May 1, 1940, President Rafael Ángel Calderón Guardia began his term, which was later extended by

congress from four to six years. He announced close co-operation with the United States. Simultaneously with the United States, Costa Rica declared war on the Axis when Japan attacked Hawaii.

**Social and Economic Life.** The country's first thought has been about education, public health, and public works. Costa Rica is a democracy, with the three branches of government, executive, legislative, and judicial. The president may not succeed himself, nor can any relative of the president succeed him in the office. The citizens not only have the right to vote but must do so under penalty



of a fine. The population, which is distinctly white, lives for the most part on small plantations in relative prosperity.

Agriculture is the main industry in Costa Rica. Coffee, bananas, cacao, lumber, and honey are the main farm products that are exported. Gold, mineral earths, tuna fish, and hides are other products that are exported.

### PANAMA

Panama was a part of Colombia until the revolution of 1903, which separated it from the motherland. It has always had a certain amount of autonomy. In 1830 a revolution temporarily established Panama's independence, but the country soon returned to Colombia. The most important event in the life of Panama was the building of a railway by United States engineers across the isthmus in 1855. At that time there was much rivalry between the United States and Great Britain concerning the canal route.

**Early Plans for a Canal.** The digging of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama was first planned by the Spaniards in early colonial history. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 provided for a canal to be constructed by private capital and controlled by Great Britain, the United States, and such other powers as might unite in guaranteeing its complete neutrality. The organization of a French company by De Lesseps and the prospect of speedy construction of a canal by the French led to a change in the policy of the United States. This change was announced by President Hayes, when he declared in 1880 that any canal that might be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans should be

under the control of the United States and that such a canal should be considered "a part of the coast line of the United States."

But Great Britain refused to waive her rights as provided in the treaty. She was asked to reconsider the whole matter. At last, after many struggles and changes, a new treaty was drawn up on November 1, 1901. This new document (the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty) repealed in express terms the Clayton-Bulwer agreement. It provided that the United States might construct a canal and have "the exclusive management and policing of it."

After the French had abandoned the project, the United States decided to select the Panama route in preference to the route through Nicaragua, which had also been the subject of consideration. In January, 1903, the United States signed an agreement with the Colombian representative in Washington promising to pay \$10,000,000 cash and an annuity of \$250,000 for the lease of a strip of land six miles wide across the isthmus. The United States was so anxious to have the canal built immediately that Colombia was warned that the treaty must be passed without any amendment or delay.

**Panama's Independence Is Secured** The Colombian Congress rejected the treaty by the unanimous vote of the senate. President Theodore Roosevelt later declared that this action was due to the "anti-social spirit" of Colombia and the greed of the government leaders. However, the United States Minister had repeatedly warned his government that there was a "tremendous tide of public opinion against the canal treaty." The people of Co

ombia felt that Panama was their greatest asset. They knew that, in spite of his threats, President Roosevelt was determined not to take the Nicaragua route. Consequently, they opposed the treaty, hoping to get better terms and reserve more control over the isthmus.

The people of Panama considered that the failure of Colombia to sign the treaty was a sacrifice of their interests. Dr. Amador Guerrero visited the United States and conferred with various important men concerning the advisability of Panama's revolting. The Secretary of State, one of those men consulted, was of course guarded in his replies but outlined what he considered the rights and duties of the United States under the Treaty of 1846 by which we had the right to intervene in Panama to prevent disorders if they interfered with free transit across the isthmus.

Soon after Dr. Guerrero returned to Panama, the United States gunboat *Nashville* arrived off Colón. Three other warships had received orders to proceed "within easy distance of the isthmus, in the event of need arising." Two days after the Colombian Congress had adjourned, orders were tabled to the American naval commanders to keep the transit open and to "prevent the landing of any armed force with hostile intent, either government or insurgent, at any point within fifty miles of Panama." It can hardly be denied that the situation thus created was very favorable to revolution.

The revolutionists were slow in taking advantage of their opportunities, seemingly causing some impatience in Washington. At 3:40 P.M., November 3, the following dispatch was sent

to the American consuls at Panama and Colón: "Uprising on Isthmus reported. Keep Department promptly and fully informed. Loomis, Acting." At 8:15 P.M., a reply was received from Consul Ehrman at Panama: "No uprising yet. Reported will be in the night. Situation is critical." At 9:50 P.M., a second dispatch was received from the same source: "Uprising occurred tonight; 6; no bloodshed. Army and Navy officials taken prisoners. Government will be organized tonight."

The few Colombian troops on the isthmus were re-embarked after their officers had appraised the situation. United States Marines, landed from the gunboat *Nashville*, maintained order. Just four days later the United States Government recognized the Republic of Panama. A week later the minister of the Panama Republic, being in Washington when appointed, was received by President Roosevelt.

The President justified his course in a special message to Congress on January 4, 1904. He held that Colombia was not entitled "to bar the transit of the world's traffic across the isthmus," and that the intervention of the United States was justified: (1) by our treaty rights; (2) by our national interests; (3) by the interests of collective civilization.

**Problems in the Canal Zone.** The agreement made between the United States and Panama provided, not for the sale, but for the lease for 99 years, of the ten-mile wide Canal Zone strip to the United States. The tendency of the latter country to consider the zone as its complete property was to raise many questions. There were other points of difference as to how



far the United States, in order to assure the protection of the canal, should intervene in the affairs of Panama. At first, the military authorities in the zone assumed it was their business to keep order, suppress revolutions, and supervise the elections in Panama proper. This led to the early disbanding of Panama's small army and the maintenance merely of a police force for the punishment of minor offenses.

Another problem was that of trade rivalries. Government commissaries sold goods to employees of the canal at greatly reduced prices. Panamanians tended to buy their goods in the commissaries in the zone, rather than in those on their side of the street which was the dividing line between the two governments in the cities of Panama and Colón. Speaking for their merchants, the Panamanian officials constantly protested against commissaries selling to outsiders. The zone authorities made efforts to limit sales to their own employees. But such a situation is not easily controlled and continues to be a bone of contention.

The question of efficient sanitation was from the first a fruitful source of disagreement. The failure of the French was due chiefly to their inability to control yellow fever and malaria. The success of the United States, on the other hand, was due in a considerable degree to the rigid control of the breeding places of the yellow-fever mosquito. In order to carry out this process, as well as other sanitary measures for the control of malaria, the whole territory had to be patrolled. In 1905 Panama officially turned over to the great health authority, Dr. William C. Gorgas, of

the Canal Zone, the right to control health measures in the Panamanian cities of Panama and Colón. Only with such sweeping authority was Dr. Gorgas enabled to make the remarkable health record which even today ranks as one of the world's greatest miracles of sanitary engineering.

**Panama Asks the United States to Intervene.** Party strife broke out in 1908 when a coalition of liberals and conservatives opposed President Guerrero's attempt to place Ricardo Arias in office as his successor. Both parties asked that an American commissioner be appointed to listen to electoral complaints, but the Guerrero government had joined in this request only because of diplomatic pressure. Arias soon afterward withdrew his candidacy. In 1912 a similar situation arose. This time, however, it was complicated by the fact that the liberals had a majority in congress and could thus control the electoral machinery while the government forces could count on the police. Under these circumstances both sides asked for American supervision. A committee of high American officials, with more than two hundred assistants, took charge of the election. But before the voting took place, the administration party withdrew entirely from the election, claiming that it had not received fair treatment. Dr. Belisario Porras, the leader of the liberal party, became president. Since he refused to accept United States supervision of the election of 1916, the opposition refused to take part in it. His successor died after two years in office, and Porras was again elected acting president. This took place, however, only after a violent controversy during which



United States troops took over the policing of Panama City and Colón. This taking over of the police powers climaxed a series of difficulties such as clashes, ending in fatalities, between the police and United States soldiers or sailors. At the same time that the police force was reformed, the United States insisted on reforms in the government's financial administration. In 1918 a law was passed providing for the appointment of a "fiscal agent," to be selected with the help of the United States, who was to be a sort of financial adviser and controller.

Rodolfo Chiari, a political associate of Dr. Porras, became president in 1924. His government signed a new treaty with the United States on July 28, 1926. This contained a number of important provisions, such as the one which stated that Panama was to cede a part of Colón to the United States and receive in return financial aid in the construction of a highway across the isthmus. Article XI of the treaty provided that Panama would consider itself in a state of war whenever the United States became involved in any hostilities. There was much opposition in the Panamanian Congress to these two proposals, and the ratification of the treaty was defeated. By this time there was beginning to be some change in the Caribbean policy of the United States, and this was reflected in the increased amount of responsibility which was left to the Panamanian authorities. After 1918 elections were conducted without United States interference or supervision. After 1922 the powers of the United States Inspector General of Police and of the fiscal agent were

somewhat curtailed. Until 1931, however, it was taken for granted that any serious disorder or attempted revolution would be suppressed at once by the United States.

**Recent Relations with the United States.** There was growing discontent with political conditions in Panama. On January 2, 1931, a group of opponents of the president seized control of Panama City. There was some fighting, in which several policemen were killed, but the United States did not intervene. In 1932 Harmodio Arias, one of the leaders of the revolution, became president. Adjustments were made in a manner satisfactory to Panama when Arias visited the United States in 1933, but a new dispute arose in 1934. When the United States decreased the gold content of the dollar and attempted to pay the canal annuity in the new currency, Panama would not accept payment on such a basis.

A new treaty, signed at Washington on March 2, 1936, dealt with this matter and made important concessions to Panama's national pride and her material interests. Her independence was no longer formally guaranteed by the United States. The United States Government gave up its right to intervene for the purpose of maintaining order in Panama City and Colón, and gave up the right to take additional land outside the zone for canal purposes. Article X of the new treaty provided that in case of war or threat of aggression the two governments would act to protect their common interests and would enter into consultations regarding measures considered necessary by either government.

The election in which the successor of Harmodio Arias was chosen in 1936 was one of the most closely contested in the history of Panama. The official candidate, Juan Demostenes Arosemena, was declared ineligible, but was finally elected. In the election of 1940, the government candidate was Dr. Arnulfo Arias, brother of Harmodio Arias. A few months after his election the constitution was suspended. The opponents of the government accused the president of establishing a dictatorship with fascist tendencies. The suspicions that Arias leaned toward dictatorship grew when, in October, 1941, he forbade the arming of Panamanian merchant ships.

This was important because a large number of ships owned by United States companies had been registered under the flag of Panama, and several had been sunk in the war zone. The day after this decree was issued, Arias fled secretly to Habana, where, as he said later, he wanted to consult an oculist. His cabinet declared that he had forfeited the presidency by leaving the country without the necessary permission from Congress. Thereupon Ricardo Adolfo de la Guardia was installed as president. The new administration immediately made clear the fact that it intended to cooperate with the United States in hemisphere defense.

### Words and Terms to Learn

fiscal agent	<i>tierra caliente</i>
yellow-fever mosquito	<i>templada</i>
malaria	Clayton-Bulwer Treaty
intervention	Hay-Pauncefote Treaty

### People to Identify

Carrera	Mosquito Indians
Barrios	Walker
Cañas	Gorgas
Ubico	Oreamundo
De Lesseps	Tomás Guardia
Morazán	Zelaya

### Learning through Discussion

1. Why have the great maritime powers been especially interested in Central America?
2. What was the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916?
3. What caused the death of the Central American Court of Justice set up in 1907?
4. What important contributions to Guatemalan history were made by each of these presidents: Carrera, Barrios, Cabrera, and Ubico?
5. How democratic were these men in their method of governing? How do you explain this fact?

6. Why is Francisco Morazán considered one of the great men of Honduran history?
7. In what ways is El Salvador unique?
8. Why do Salvadoreans regard Cañas as one of their national heroes?
9. Why may El Salvador be called a "one-export country"?
10. Why was William Walker unpopular in Central America and especially in Nicaragua?
11. Can you explain why United States Marines were kept in Nicaragua from 1909 until 1933?
12. Explain how Costa Rica's record in education and democracy is outstanding in all Latin America.
13. What was the difference between the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty?
14. What was the importance of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty?
15. Why did the Colombian government object to the actions of the United States in the Panama Revolution of 1903?
16. Explain three problems which have caused trouble between the governments of Panama and the United States.
17. How did the treaty of 1936 help smooth the relations between the two governments?

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. On a wall map point out to the class the ways in which the Panama Canal has aided United States trade with the west coast of South America and with the Orient. Name the distance in miles from the Panama Canal to the important European, South American, and Far-Eastern ports.
2. By referring to the map, show the importance of the Panama Canal in connection with the defense of the United States.
3. Make a chart showing the exports and imports of the six Central American republics and the rates of their trade with the United States, Great Britain, and Germany in 1938, the year before the beginning of the second World War.

### Projects and Problems

1. Prepare a poster for a steamship company with outstanding data on the attractions of (a) Guatemala for tourists, or (b) Costa Rica, with its summer school for persons interested in the study of Latin-American democracy.
2. As a Central American youth participating in an oratorical contest, prepare an address proving your claim that the many revolutions in Central America have been due more to the interference by foreign countries than to the weakness of the native inhabitants.
3. Make a study of the Central American Court of Justice which existed between 1907 and 1917 and which is often regarded as the most advanced step for international arbitration ever taken. Show how it was superior to the World Court connected with the League of Nations.
4. Have a panel discussion on the importance of air transportation to Central America.



5. Have a debate on the topic "Resolved that the Central American countries would make more progress if they would form a United States of Central America."

6. Dramatize the building of the Panama Canal as suggested in the following lines, supposing it was written by one of the workmen:

Got any rivers that are uncrossable?  
Got any mountains you can't tunnel through?  
Give 'em to us; we specialize in the impossible—  
Doing things that no one can do.

## XI. THE WEST INDIES

The Mediterranean Sea and the Caribbean Sea are the most important trade routes in the world. In the future the two great twin seas, the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, may prove to be even more important than the Mediterranean. The waters of the Caribbean Sea cover a system of mountains, the higher ranges and peaks of which form the thousands of islands, many volcanic, which dot the sea. In addition to the three independent island republics of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti, there are islands flying the flags of the United States, England, Holland, France, and Venezuela. All of them together make up the West Indies group. The West Indies Islands have an almost ideal climate. They are warmed by the warm currents of the Atlantic and are cooled by the trade winds blowing in off the ocean. Neither the excessive heat of the Middle-Western summers nor the cold of Northern winters in the United States is experienced. A comparison of average monthly temperatures in the West Indies shows a difference of but four to six degrees between the hottest and the coldest months. There are two rainy seasons—one in May and June, the other in October and November.

### CUBA

"It is the most beautiful land ever seen by human eyes," said Columbus when he first beheld Cuba. The "Pearl of the Antilles" with the neighboring island of Puerto Rico was the last of the New World possessions to be lost by Spain.

Cuba, along with Panama, delayed the attainment of independence until the twentieth century. In the 1820's Colombia and Mexico planned an expedition to free the island from Spain. But the United States frowned on the action because it feared that the island was not strong enough to defend itself from England and France, who were casting covetous eyes upon its rich soil. Cuban patriots early began plotting rebellion against the mother country. A secret society known as *Los Soles y Rayos de Bolívar* ("The Suns and Rays of Bolívar") was discovered and its members severely punished in 1826. The young poet, José María Heredia, who is discussed in the section on literature, was a member of this association and was banished to the United States. It was then that he wrote his famous ode to Niagara Falls. Another well-known writer who perished because of his liberal views was the Negro poet,

Gabriel Concepción de la Vega. In fact, Cuban history from 1820 to 1898 is filled with names of great writers and scientists who worked for their country's independence.

**José Martí.** José Martí, who was to become the flame of the Cuban revolution, was born in Habana early in 1853. He grew up in poverty. When he was seventeen, he spent six months at hard labor in a stone quarry because of his activities against the government. Early in 1871 the Cuban authorities decided to deport Martí to Spain for a term of six years. Looking back, one may call this period of exile a piece of good fortune for Martí since it gave him an opportunity for advanced study which he would never have had in Cuba. Toward the end of 1874 he decided to quit Spain. His wanderings from this time on are numerous. He went to Mexico. From there he slipped back into Cuba under an assumed name for a brief visit.

In 1878, when his period of exile was over, Martí returned to Cuba and took up the practice of law. However, he was again deported in 1879 and returned to Spain for a short time. From there he went to New York, where he lived for many years. By 1880 he had attained an international reputation as a political writer and propagandist for Cuban freedom. He also wrote poetry and charming stories for children. One of the best of his stories is called "The Black Doll." He founded a monthly magazine for children, *The Golden Bough*.

Except for the brief periods devoted to the practice of law and teachings, Martí earned his living by writing for the newspapers. It was he who

exposed in the newspapers of the United States and Latin America the abuses to which the Cubans were subjected by Spain, and the type of government which the revolutionists wished to establish in Cuba.

**The Cuban Revolution.** Early in 1895, Martí sailed from New York to meet General Máximo Gómez and General Antonio Maceo, who had long worked together for Cuban independence. The landing took place in the dead of night at a little village called Playitas. Before long it was learned that General Maceo also had made a successful landing. On May 5 the three leaders met, and thus began the Cuban Revolution. This revolution continued until the United States declared war on Spain in 1898. On May 19, 1895, Gómez' army, which now numbered about four hundred men, encountered a superior force led by the Spaniard, Colonel Sandoval. In the battle that followed Martí received three bullets and fell, mortally wounded.

After the War between the States the main object of United States diplomacy in regard to Cuba was the extension of commercial relations with the island and the protection of American interests. The "Ten Years War" between Cuba and Spain, from 1868 to 1878, was characterized by great cruelty, destruction of property and irregular methods of warfare. It imposed grave responsibilities upon the United States. In February, 1895 the last insurrection against Spanish rule began, and soon developed the same features as the Ten Years' War. Both sides were guilty of outrages, and conditions became so distressing that the United States was led to intervene





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

The wide, picturesque *Prado* in Habana is a street greatly admired by visiting foreigners. In the distance Morro Castle is seen.

in 1898 and secure Cuba's independence. One of the fine chapters in United States history is that dealing with the liberation and modernizing of Cuba. While we may frankly admit that we have had a selfish interest in the island, because of its strategic position, yet this does not take away the glory of the service rendered that

country in helping Cuba attain independence.

**The Spanish-American War (1898).** The immediate cause of the intervention of the United States in the war between Cuba and the mother country was the explosion of the battleship *Maine* in the harbor of Habana. No reliable proof has ever

been produced that the *Maine* was blown up by the Spaniards. But that was the belief in the United States. "Remember the *Maine*" became a popular slogan, and the public clamored for war. In order to check the demands certain to be made that Cuba be retained by the United States, President McKinley, along with the recognition that a state of war existed, secured the adoption on April 19 by Congress of the following declaration:

The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty [supremacy], jurisdiction, or control over said island [Cuba] except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

The military struggle lasted only a few weeks. The Spanish military machine was found to be very weak. The United States lost many men, chiefly through disease. Admiral Cervera's fleet was defeated, and an American expeditionary force soon swarmed over the island of Cuba. The peace commissions representing the United States and Spain met in Paris and signed the peace treaty on December 10, 1898. The United States assumed responsibility for the temporary government of Cuba and was awarded Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

**The United States Takes a Hand.** The United States then established, under General Leonard Wood, a military administration, notable for a campaign against yellow fever and for many other reforms. This administration lasted until May, 1902. Local elections were held in September, 1900, under the supervision of the

military government. A convention met two months later, which by February of the following year had agreed upon a constitution patterned after that of the United States. The latter insisted that it be given the right to supervise Cuban affairs. After much resistance the Cubans accepted what became known as the "Platt Amendment" to their constitution. The first three articles were as follows:

Article I. The government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty with any foreign power which will impair the independence of Cuba.

Article II. The government of Cuba shall not contract any public debt to pay the interest upon which the ordinary revenues of the island shall be inadequate.

Article III. The government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

The following year President Theodore Roosevelt said that "in a sense Cuba has become a part of our political system." Our first intervention took place when President Palma was beginning his second term in 1906. Because a revolution had broken out the United States announced a provisional government, with Secretary of State Taft as its head. The occupation was withdrawn in a little more than two years, but difficulties continued.

When President José Miguel Gómez reported in 1912 that he would not be able to "guarantee absolute protection" to foreign property, Secretary



of State Knox issued a note "in the hope of somewhat steadying the situation and thereby assisting the government of Cuba to put down the present uprising." Four companies of marines were landed June 5, 1912. The revolt was over about a month later.

In 1917 the United States was again confronted with the question of intervention. President Mario García Menocal, in spite of a promise to serve only one term, was declared re-elected after a stormy campaign. Opinion was freely expressed that the liberal candidate who ran against Menocal had actually won. During the next seven months the liberals were in revolt. The United States sent warships, declaring that it supported constitutional government and also that "as the Allied Powers and the United States must depend to a large extent upon the sugar production of Cuba, all disturbances which interfere with the production must be considered as hostile acts."

All together there have been at least five attempts at revolutions in Cuba since the country gained its independence. In each case the United States has thrown its influence against the revolution. At various other times the United States has used the Platt Amendment as justification for representations to Cuba concerning sanitation, limitation of loans, and legislation affecting foreign-owned concessions. For example, in the year 1912, the Cuban government granted the rights to certain forests and lands in the Zapata swamps to the Agricultural Company of Zapata on condition that it reclaim the swamp for agricultural purposes. Secretary Knox pro-

tested that this concession "seems to be so clearly ill-advised a project, so improvident and reckless a waste of revenue and natural resources, that this government is impelled to express to the government of Cuba its emphatic disapproval of the same." President Gómez replied that the Platt Amendment did not "authorize or signify meddling in internal affairs . . . for such a supervision . . . would be destructive of the independence of the republic."

Cuba tried to gain recognition among the nations of the world on the basis of complete equality. Demonstrating her freedom from the United States, she ratified the Treaty of Versailles and joined the League of Nations. When an Uruguayan diplomat was reported to have questioned before the League of Nations the complete independence of Cuba because of the existing Platt Amendment, Cuba broke off diplomatic relations with Uruguay until a disavowal was made. Cuban leaders continuously advocated the modification of the Platt Amendment. It was finally repealed in 1934.

In 1925 General Gerardo Machado, a liberal and a successful businessman, became president. His administration began with much promise. It was not long, however, until he showed all the usual signs of dictatorship. He changed the constitution in order that he and his congress might remain in office. Opposition from many different sections developed. When he asked the University of Habana to endorse his course by giving him an honorary degree, the students protested, and on April 10, 1928, he closed the university. There-



after, Machado was relentless in his persecution of university students. They were imprisoned, tortured, and murdered. Machado's hired assassins boldly followed the brilliant student leader, Julio Mella, to Mexico, where they assassinated him on the street. Ten students, arrested after the revolution of 1931, were shot, while leaders of that uprising, like ex-President Menocal, were allowed to go free. Two students, arrested while President Coolidge was in Habana opening the Pan-American conference in 1928, disappeared completely. But this did not stop the students, young women as well as young men, often members of the finest old families of Cuba, from fighting tyranny. They formed the secret society known as the ABC, an organization which, probably more than any other force, brought about the final downfall of President Machado.

**The United States Withdraws from Cuban Politics.** During this period the Washington government had become convinced of the impossibility of running the affairs of Cuba, without taking complete charge of the country. This it was not prepared to do. With the repealing of the Platt Amendment, a new treaty, providing for complete political independence and close economic co-operation with the United States, was approved by the United States Senate on May 31, 1936. At the beginning of that year, Dr. Miguel Mariano Gómez, a well-respected former mayor of Habana, was elected president. A new constitution had been adopted; the future began to clear. But by December of 1936 Gómez was impeached for purely political reasons. It was evident that the

man who had driven out Machado and made and unmade the president for some time was the only person who could impose order. This former army sergeant, Colonel Fulgencio Batista, was duly elected to the presidency in 1940. He has since visited Mexico and the United States and consulted with those governments about educational and economic questions.

Cuba's plan of economic and social reconstruction under a new constitution included provisions for the stabilization of teachers' tenure and salaries, construction of school buildings, and reduction of illiteracy.

The right to direct Cuba's political life was voluntarily surrendered by the United States in 1934, when the Platt Amendment was abrogated. Her two great crops, sugar and tobacco, are important to us. Since the list of Cuban products is small and practically all of them are marketed in the United States, she depends on us not only for manufactured goods, but very largely for foodstuffs, also. For this reason the United States still has an obligation to her sister republic. To prevent future misunderstanding we must help Cuba educate her people so that they can work out their own problems of self-government, diversified crops, honesty in administration, and personal sacrifice for the national good.

#### THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

The Dominicans call their country the "Cradle of America." And they are right. It was in the city of Santo Domingo that Columbus made his first permanent settlement. Here the conquistadors first came into contact

with primitive America and learned of the further possibilities and problems of conquest which lured Balboa to discover the Pacific, Velásquez to colonize Cuba, Pizarro to conquer the Inca Empire, Ponce de León to subdue Puerto Rico and to drive his keels to Florida in quest of the Fountain of Youth, and Hernando de Soto, after his exploits in Peru, Central America, and Florida, to achieve the discovery of the Mississippi. Here the irreproachable dandy and honorable gentleman Nicuesa, along with his equally well groomed and equally valorous rival, Ojeda, prepared their expeditions to conquer and settle the mainland of Spanish America. Here passed Gonzáles de Ávila on his way to one of the most heartbreaking expeditions, through Darien and upper Central America, that ever a strong soldier was called to endure. And here the noted bishop, Padre de Las Casas, began his far-famed ministry of mercy. For half a century following Columbus's epoch-making voyages, this little island was the central port and highway through which the power of European civilization travelled, bearing the Old-World culture to the utmost bounds of the new colonial empire.

When Columbus first saw the beautiful island which now contains the Dominican Republic and the Republic of Haiti, he wrote his royal patrons: "Its mountains and plains . . . are so rich and beautiful for planting . . . and for building towns and villages . . . The size and wholesomeness of the rivers surpass anything

that would be believed by one who had not seen them."

President Grant, in urging on the Senate the annexation of the country, made a very clear statement when he said:

The acquisition of Santo Domingo<sup>1</sup> is desirable because of its geographical position. It commands the entrance to the Caribbean Sea and the Isthmus transit of commerce. It possesses the richest soil, the most capacious harbors, the most salubrious climate, and the most valuable products of the forests, mines, and soil of all the West Indies Islands. Its possession by us will in a few years build up a coast-wise commerce of immense magnitude, which will go far toward restoring to us our lost merchant marine. It will give to us these articles which we consume so largely and do not produce, thus equalizing our imports and exports. In case of foreign war it will give us command of all the islands referred to and thus prevent an enemy of ever possessing himself of a rendezvous on our very coast.

It has been said that the Dominican Republic, with its 19,332 square miles, is capable of sustaining a denser population than any other similar area in the world. It has been estimated that the island produces at least seventy-five varieties of grain and vegetables, fifty different kinds of fruits, twelve species of palms, and fifteen different types of pasture lands. Sugar is, of course, the leading product. Corn yields from three to four crops a year. Cacao, coffee, bananas, oranges, and pineapples are exported. Copper is found in commercial quantities; deposits of iron are known to exist; coal and petroleum are found in considerable amounts; salt, alum,

<sup>1</sup>The name Santo Domingo was once applied to the whole island (now officially called Hispaniola) and also to the Spanish part of the island (now known as the Dominican Republic).

gypsum, platinum, mercury, and other minerals are mined to some extent. Thanks to the inaccessibility of the great forests, much of the wealth of rare hardwoods and dyewoods has been conserved. Mahogany, ebony, satinwood, rosewood, walnut, and other precious woods are abundant.

The coast line of the island, unlike that of Puerto Rico, is well indented with harbors and bays. Samana Bay is a veritable inland sea, measuring about forty miles from east to west and fourteen from north to south, with room to haven all the navies of the world.

**Retarding Influences in the Dominican Republic.** Why has such a remarkably rich country failed to advance with the more progressive portion of the Western World? History reveals several reasons, the clearest of which is isolation. The Spaniards, after making this island the center of their early operations in America, plucked all its removable riches, and pushed on to the mainland. Thereafter for two centuries most vessels even ceased to make the island a regular port of call. When enlarged sugar production began to restore its prosperity, and the smugglers began to violate the regulations that trade could be carried on only with Spain, that government actually closed the ports on the northern shore and compelled the people to move to the interior. In the early nineteenth century the invasion of Negro despots from Haiti, with the consequent flight of the best of the white elements, once again set the country back. The struggle against Haitian interference continued during most of the nineteenth century, and the assurance of inde-

pendence from that republic came to the Dominicans only with the assassination of Heureaux, the Negro dictator who ruled it from 1882 to 1899.

During this period of struggle the politicians of the country twice proposed that the island seek refuge under a foreign flag. This scheme was actually carried out in 1861, when the island returned to the fold of Spain for a period of four years. After the United States backed the country in eliminating Spain, the administration of President Grant flirted with the Dominicans concerning the annexation of the country to the United States. This would probably have been accomplished if Senator Sumner, with his speech on "Naboth's Vineyard," and other enemies of Grant and of expansion had not defeated the proposal.

President Báez, negotiator in this matter of annexation, succeeded in accomplishing what had been the dream of every administration of the republic—the contracting of a foreign loan. The firm of London bankers, Hartmont and Company, who agreed to float an issue of Dominican bonds, so mercilessly fleeced the government, however, that the nucleus of the enormous debt which finally led to American intervention was established. The government received only about £38,095 out of a loan issued in London for £757,700. Many of the bonds were sold in London after the Dominican government in 1870 had cancelled the agreement. Most of the bonds were exchanged for the new loan, secured in 1888 from the Dutch firm of Westendorp. The rest were purchased at twenty-eight cents on the dollar by a United States firm, the Sa-



Domingo Improvement Company, which took over the Westendorp interests and began in 1893 to dominate Dominican finance.

Under pressure from foreign governments, the principal debt items due foreign citizens had been recognized by the Dominicans, who had actually gone so far as to pledge the income from each of the more important customhouses for the payment of this or that creditor. The agreement was seldom kept, since the Dominican, believing always that he was being exploited, felt lightly bound by such "obligations."

**United States Intervention.** A new power was about to enter the life of the republic. Just as Santo Domingo was the first city, in that vast new world later known as Latin America, to receive the impulse of the Spanish civilization, so the republic was now to be the first of the Latin-American countries to receive officially the newer North American civilization. In 1905 President Theodore Roosevelt announced a new interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which declared the United States responsible for the moral life of its nearest neighbors, an interpretation applied by the Department of State in its dealing with Latin America for the next twenty-five years.

Following this announcement the President pressed for an arrangement whereby the United States should administer the finances of the Dominican Republic, then struggling with many creditors in Europe and America. The Dominican government finally agreed that a collector of customs should be appointed by the United States.

Collection of Dominican customs by

a foreign power continued, with various ups and downs, for a decade. But during the turbulent times of 1914-1918 such indirect control did not seem to be sufficient. Naval strategists urged a military control as well. By intervention in Haiti in 1915 the United States had secured control of the passage to the Panama Canal between Cuba and Haiti. Negotiations for the purchase of the Virgin Islands from Denmark were under way, in order to secure a safe passage between these islands and Puerto Rico. In the meantime the remaining passage between Puerto Rico and the island of Hispaniola needed to be secured. Disturbed political conditions in the Dominican Republic encouraged the United States to ask it to sign a treaty which would accord the United States much the same dominance that Haiti had accorded it a year before.

"No time should be lost in declaring military control," urged Secretary Lansing in a note to President Wilson. Even as the President pondered over this disturbing situation of hemisphere defense, the Cabinet secretaries were pounding at his door with more perplexing world problems. He seized his pen and hastily wrote to his Secretary of State: "It is with the deepest reluctance that I approve and authorize the course you have proposed, but I am convinced that it is the least of the evils in sight in this very perplexing situation." Military occupation was immediately set up by Rear-Admiral Knapp. From the day when the proclamation of military governorship was issued, through eight years the Dominican government was controlled by an admiral of the United States Navy.

### The United States Withdraws.

When the first World War was over, the people of the United States began to feel that the government of the Dominican Republic should be restored to its people. President Harding sent young Sumner Welles from the State Department to negotiate the withdrawal of the occupation forces. This was accomplished completely in 1924, and there was great rejoicing. The first president to serve under the new regime was Horacio Vásquez. He was overthrown in February, 1930, on the eve of new elections. General Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina assumed the presidency in that year and ruled with an iron hand until 1938. In that year he retired for a term of four years, while Dr. Jacinto B. Peynado, former vice-president, was elected chief executive. General Trujillo continued to be the power behind the throne and returned to the presidency in 1942. In his honor the name of the historic city of Santo Domingo was changed to Ciudad Trujillo. He endeavored to ingratiate himself with his people and the outside world by improving the roads, beautifying the capital city, enlarging the educational program, and inviting a large number of European refugees to make their home in the republic.

### HAITI

#### How Haiti Came to Be French.

At a Pan-American conference, one delegation stands out as different from all the others—it speaks French and its members are black or mulatto. The story of how Haiti came to be black, and how one third of the island settled by Columbus and dominated by the conquistadors came under

French control, is a part of the exciting account of the buccaneers of the West Indies. The numerous European wars between Spain, England, France, and Holland had their echoes in the West Indies Islands, which often changed hands. When France and Spain went to war in 1689, their colonists in the two sections of the Island of Hispaniola fought many a fierce battle. By the Peace of Ryswick the western section of the island, next to Cuba—and now known as Haiti—was definitely ceded to France.

The French were interested only in the exploitation of Haiti. They imported over a million slaves into the colony during the eighteenth century. With these Haitian inhabitants the French colonists were cruel and exacting. The masters lived on their great plantations, largely in idleness, importing their styles and manners from Paris. They had no interest in the blacks except to exact from them all possible revenue. The mulatto class was bold and insolent. The stage was being set for the massacre, *en masse*, of the whites by the blacks, who outnumbered their masters ten to one.

**Three Negro Leaders.** One day in June, 1779, three Negro slaves met in the harbor of Cap Haitien, where Columbus landed on his first voyage. One was a tall, handsome young Negro, proud and straight as a Roman. He was Henri Christophe. He was sailing that day, in company with his master, to fight on the side of the United States in the Revolutionary War.

On the same wharf sat a young squatty, ugly, burly black, whose very appearance on his recent arrival from Africa had caused such repulsion that

he was allowed by the whites to be sold to a Negro. The young slave had been recently christened Jean Jacques Dessalines.

On the docks stood also a coach, driven from a neighboring plantation by a Negro later to be known as the famous L'Ouverture. This was Toussaint, a quiet little black man appreciated by his master because he seldom left the plantation, did his work well, and spent his spare moments reading books.

These three men separated. The upstanding Christophe went to Savannah, Georgia, to fight with the American colonists in their struggle for independence. The surly Dessalines went back to his master's plantation to sulk and to nurse the wounds inflicted by his Negro owner. The silent Toussaint drove his lord and lady back to their home and slipped out to the stable to go on with his reading. A strange trio, indeed, but they were destined to work mightily for the freedom of their people, after they had paid back, lash for lash, life for life, every cruelty heaped upon them by the whites for two hundred years.

After a time the little black coachman, having decided that he would fight for the liberty of his people, joined the Spanish army where he learned military tactics. With his military training Toussaint organized the opposition to Napoleon's forces in Haiti, drove out the French, and established himself as the ruler of the island.

#### **Toussaint L'Ouverture's Wise Rule.**

After a constitution had been adopted on July 1, 1801, Toussaint turned his attention to reconstruction problems. The rich soil was made to

produce in abundance, idlers were put to work, and every inhabitant of Haiti was compelled to develop every foot of ground and to produce every possible bit of food. Young men were sent to France for education, the army was severely disciplined, and voodooism was prosecuted. Friendships with foreign governments were built up. Napoleon's legions would soon be returning, thought Toussaint, and Haiti must be ready.

The legions of Napoleon did come back, under the command of his famous brother-in-law, Leclerc. But the expedition to Haiti was a dismal failure. Disease, famine, lack of money, and the failure to receive help from home resulted in utter defeat. Only one part of his instructions was Leclerc able to carry out. By strategy and lying he was able to capture Toussaint and to send him in chains to France, where he died of neglect in a dungeon in 1803. Thus passed from the scene one of the world's remarkable characters, Toussaint L'Ouverture.

**Dessalines.** To avenge this perfidy and to assuage the wounds of his slave days, Dessalines, the second of the triumvirate, swung into the saddle. He was not the statesman, the organizer, the far-seeing leader of his race that Toussaint was. But he knew how to be cruel. He could invent more deceptions and punishments than the French, with all their brilliancy.

Dessalines, having driven out the French, assumed the dictatorship of Haiti, establishing her independence in 1804. He now proved himself as hard on the Haitians as he had been on the French. His colossal ignorance





*Photo from Black Star*

Haiti, the black man's republic, honors one of its founders, Toussaint L'Ouverture, as a great American hero. He prepared for his work, while a slave, by reading many books.



and cruelty caused the mulattoes in the south to rise against him and accomplish his assassination on October 17, 1806.

### Christophe Makes Himself King.

With the assassination of Dessalines, the third member of the group on the wharf at Cap Haitien twenty-seven years before, succeeded to power. Under the name of Henri I, Christophe ruled as successful despot in the north, while Alexandre Pétion, the mulatto, revolted and established himself as ruler at Port-au-Prince in the south.

When Christophe became king, he could write only half his name. He had never read a book. His only educated associates had been the half-drunk guests of the hotel where he was a waiter. But he had been to Savannah; he had been closely associated with Toussaint and Dessalines; he had tramped through blood for a quarter of a century, dreaming of the day when black would equal white. He resolved to make his land rich and respected. He struck first on a scheme to fill his empty treasury. A most important instrument for the peasant was the gourd, his drinking cup. Gourds were declared state property, and were used as a medium of exchange. Over 200,000 were collected, and soon everyone began to need gourds. So gourds were used to pay the Haitians for the coffee crop, and the coffee was in turn sold to the foreigner for gold. Thus the treasury was filled with gold currency, and the coin of the realm, the *gourde*, received the name that it is still known by today.

Every man and woman was required to work from sunup to sundown, each

day, with two hours off at noon. Landlords were required to furnish medical attention for their tenants and to support the aged and infirm. Haiti became rich again. A small merchant marine developed. King Christophe invited six teachers from England to teach in Haiti. Replicas of English school buildings were erected, and soon hundreds of children of former slaves were preparing themselves for the new age. Every boy of ten or over was required to learn a trade. Governesses brought from Philadelphia for the princesses found themselves at home in Christophe's court as he reminisced about his adventures in the Revolutionary War.

But the time came, as he had predicted, when his strong hands would tremble in weakness. On a day in 1820, when his people arose in rebellion against his program of forced labor, Christophe dressed himself in his kingly robes, took out the gold bullet long saved for the occasion, and fired it into his brain.

Both Dessalines and Henri Christophe were blacks who paid heed to the African drums, who believed in voodooism, and who participated in the sacrificial ceremonies of their race, offering up to the spirits the blood of goats and cocks and snakes and, perchance, human beings. So also was General Nord Alexis, the giant African who ruled from 1902 to 1908; and so, too, was Guillaume Sam, who, by the assassination of his enemies, brought on intervention by the United States in 1915.

Haiti has had twenty-six presidents since the death of Christophe in 1820, when the north and south of the country were reunited, eleven of which

ruled in the five-year period from 1911 to 1916. Twelve of the twenty-six were pure Negroes, six were griffe—black with a very small percentage of white blood—and eight were mulattoes.

**Military Occupation by the United States.** Although the United States did not recognize Haiti as an independent nation, it was anxious to develop commercial relations with the country. It is not to be wondered at then that Haiti was slow to grant commercial favors to a power which showed itself opposed to political recognition. The many ensuing difficulties between the two countries are illustrated by the fact that the United States intervened in Haitian affairs, either by diplomatic or military pressure, some fifteen times before the period of military occupation which lasted from 1915 to 1933.

In an election supervised by the United States marines on August 12, 1915, Sudré Dartiguenave was elected president. Trouble continued, and on September 16, 1915, the United States made a treaty with the Haitian government. By this treaty the United States took over the administration of the country and its finances for a period of ten years. United States marines were stationed in the island to keep order. During this period of occupation the United States retained a Haitian administration, through which the national government operated. Roads were built, sanitary measures were introduced, agricultural education was encouraged, and government finances were

improved. In 1922 Luis Borno became chief executive and served for two terms. Following a riot in December, 1929, and clashes with the United States forces, President Hoover sent a commission of inquiry to Haiti. The group recommended that the United States military commissioner be replaced by a civilian, that more Haitians be used in the government, that new elections be held to choose a president, and that the treaty of 1915 remain in effect until 1936.

**United States Occupation Ended** President Stenio Vincent was elected on November 18, 1930, and served for two terms. He negotiated an agreement with President Roosevelt on August 14, 1934, whereby the occupation of Haiti by the United States was ended. Haiti agreed to appoint a financial agent to be recommended by the United States, and to purchase for the sum of \$1,000,000 the local branch of the National City Bank of New York.

The problem of Haiti cannot be considered apart from the world problem of the Negro. The Negro is developing a world consciousness. Among the most important signs of this awakening are the Pan-African movement, the West African and South African conferences, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in America, the Union Patriotique d'Haiti, the Garvey movement in Jamaica, and the movement for a federation of the British West Indies Negroes. There are 2,000,000 in the British West Indies today.



**Words and Terms to Learn**

voodooism	Platt Amendment
griffe	"Pearl of the Antilles"
sovereignty	"Remember the <i>Maine</i> "

**People to Identify**

José Martí	Leclerc
Gerardo Machado	General Wood
Admiral Cervera	Dessalines
Christophe	Stenio Vincent
General Maceo	Alexandre Pétion

**Learning through Discussion**

1. What were the "Suns and Rays of Bolívar"?
2. What part did José Martí play in the Cuban revolution?
3. Discuss the importance of the Caribbean Sea in relation to the Western Hemisphere and to the world.
4. What motives caused the United States to aid Cuba to gain her independence in 1898? Were any of these "selfish"?
5. What was the purpose of the Platt Amendment? How has it been used?
6. Why was the Platt Amendment ended in 1936?
7. How did the university students succeed in overthrowing President Machado in 1933?
8. What has President Batista done for education in Cuba?
9. Why do the Dominicans call their country the "Cradle of America"?
10. What are the historical reasons for the fact that the Haitians are Negroes who speak French?
11. What was the effect of the French Revolution on Haiti?
12. What part did each of these men play in the war for Haiti's independence: Toussaint, Leclerc, Dessalines?
13. What did Christophe accomplish in the fields of education, production, and government finance?
14. For what other reason did the United States Marines land in Haiti than to restore order?
15. What benefits did Haiti gain from United States' occupation? Why was it ended in 1934?

**Learning through Maps**

1. On an outline map of the West Indies, show in different colors the independent republics, and the islands under the flags of the United States, England, France, and the Netherlands.
2. Make a chart which shows the comparison in population, area, and products of the three West Indies republics.
3. Draw an outline map of the island of Hispaniola. Refer to a historical atlas or other source to find the location of the earliest Spanish settlements

and place them on the map. Next draw the boundary line between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Referring to a rainfall map, determine the climate of the island.

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a list of adventure stories that have the West Indies as their scene of action. Check the titles of those you have read.

2. Report on one of the following:

- (a) The story of Toussaint L'Ouverture
- (b) The effect of the French Revolution on Haiti
- (c) How France came to own part of a former Spanish colony

3. Find the state of the United States which is most nearly the size of the island of Haiti. Compare their population per square mile. Account for the difference.

4. Write a sketch of the life of the great Cuban patriot, José Martí, bringing out his contributions to his country's freedom by his activities in Spain, Mexico, the United States, South America, and Cuba.

5. Write a brief folder telling United States tourists why they should visit Cuba.

6. Organize an imaginary party for passengers on a tourist ship in Port au Prince for the purpose of visiting the famous ruins of Christophe's palace in Northern Haiti. Compose a specimen speech which you, as a guide, might recite to your party, describing the rule of King Christophe, the "Black Napoleon."

7. Compare the two Negro republics, Haiti and Liberia, in population, in history, and in relations to the United States.

8. As a Cuban youth in 1925, write an open letter to the President of the United States telling why you think the Platt Amendment should be eliminated.

9. Hold a forum to discuss the good and the bad results of the occupation of Haiti by the United States Marines from 1915 to 1933.

10. Suppose you are a teacher in a school in the Dominican Republic. A group of North Americans visits your school. An assembly is called. You are asked to explain to the visitors why that country is called the "Cradle of America." What would be the main points in your talk?

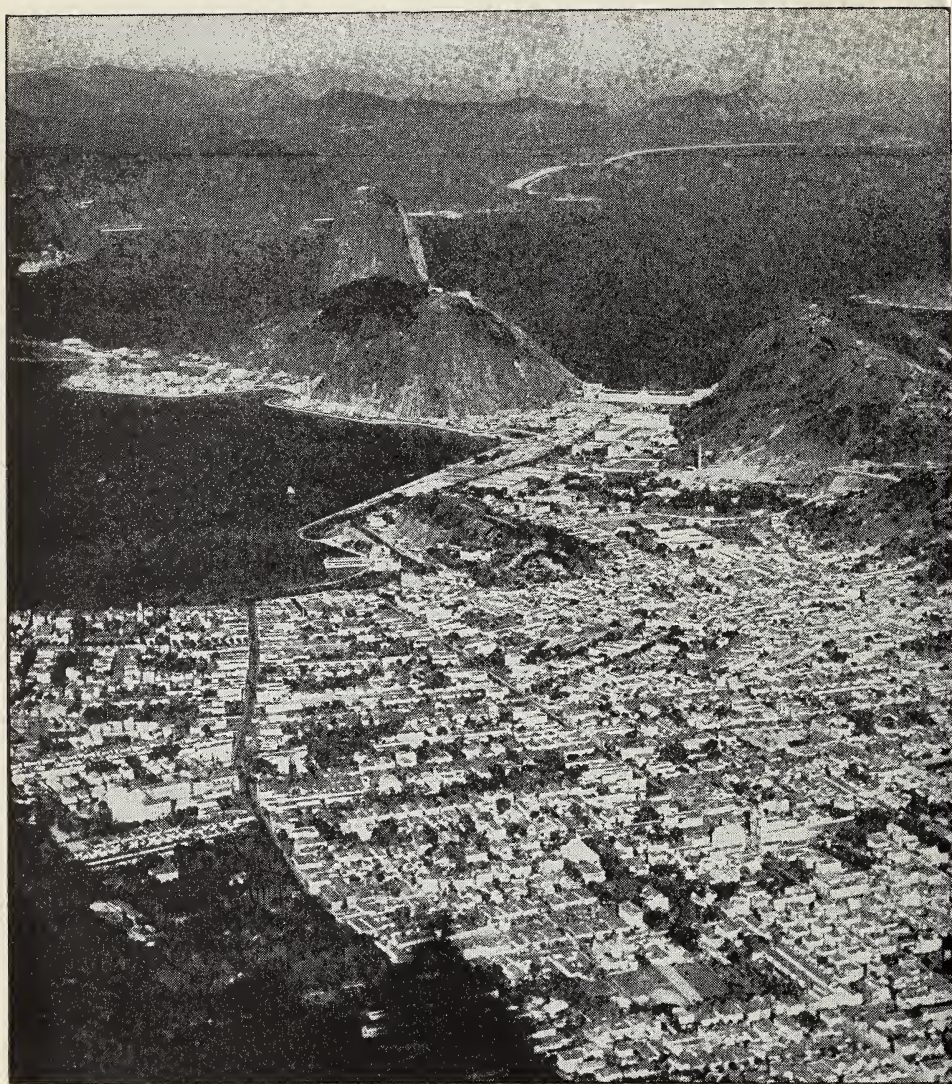
## XII. BRAZIL

Brazil is unique among the American republics for many reasons. It is first in size; its area is nearly half of South America. It borders on seven other South American republics. It is three times as large as Argentina, and as large as the United States plus another Texas. Brazil's second outstanding difference is that it represents Portuguese and not Spanish civilization. It was settled by the Portuguese and that language is the language of the country. In the third place, Brazil began its independence as a monarchy and continued that form of government for a half century. It has other distinguishing qualities. It is the only country in America that has ever been the seat of a European monarch. One ruler, Dom Pedro II, guided its destiny for fifty years. Brazil freed its slaves in 1888 without war. The republic was established in 1889 with practically no bloodshed. The ideal of the nation is complete racial equality. Brazil has named one of its public buildings the Monroe Palace to demonstrate its sympathy with the United States and the fundamental policy of protecting the continent from outside interference as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil has every kind of climate and produces practically every mineral and vegetable known to man.

It was eight years after Columbus first sighted the New World that Pedro Álvarez Cabral sailed westward from Portugal and discovered Brazil. In 1532 the first permanent Portuguese colony was established in Brazil. Brazil received its name from the soluble wood used in making red and purple dyes, called brazilwood, found in that country. We remember that the independence of the Spanish colonies began when Napoleon invaded Spain and removed the Spanish king from the throne. In the same way Napoleon's invasion was responsible for the beginning of independence in Brazil. That invasion caused the court of Portugal to move to Rio de Janeiro in 1808.

The removal of the court of Portugal to Rio de Janeiro made Brazil the center of the Portuguese empire. As a result, all colonial restrictions were abolished. The ports were opened to the trade of all friendly nations, a national bank and a royal mint were established, roads were built, schools and libraries were fostered, and foreigners were welcomed into the country. It is important to remember this event, since it automatically removed many of the limitations with which the Spanish colonies had to deal in the process of becoming independent. It is always an advantage





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

This view of Rio de Janeiro, as seen from the top of Corcovado Peak, was taken by night. The famous "Sugar-Loaf" island, seventeen hundred feet high, rises commandingly in the harbor. Botafogo Bay is in the foreground.



to have the same authority that established restrictions remove them. By 1810 Brazil had become the center of an important political and industrial life. Commerce was free and had developed to a conspicuous extent with Europe. Banks and industries were growing.

#### THE FIRST EMPIRE (1822-1831)

**"Independence or Death."** When King João realized that he could return to Portugal, after the French occupation was over, he and his court set sail for Lisbon in 1821. He left his young son Pedro in Rio de Janeiro as regent. A little fatherly advice whispered to the son conveyed the idea that Brazil might want its independence. If such a movement seemed likely, the son had better head it himself rather than allow anyone else to become chief. The independence movement was not long in breaking forth. Following the advice of his father, young Pedro himself gave the cry "Independence or Death," known as the *Grito de Ipiranga*, on the outskirts of São Paulo on September 7, 1822. He proclaimed Brazil an independent state and named himself emperor. He surrounded himself with a group of well-trained men, the most distinguished of whom was José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, usually known as José Bonifácio. This man had great influence in the early development of Brazil. He was a member of an aristocratic family, had been educated in Europe, and had clear and exalted ideas of government. Unfortunately jealousies developed between the young emperor and Parliament. This was heightened by the emperor's seeming preference for

Portugal over Brazil, his strong will, and irregularities in his private life. The issue was clearly drawn when Dom Pedro fell out with the premier, José Bonifácio, and the members of Parliament, which had declared itself in permanent session. A revolution broke out in 1824 in the northern provinces which attempted to establish a republic separate from the empire. This movement was soon suppressed. More serious was the revolt of the Spanish inhabitants in the section known as the *Banda Oriental* (later called Uruguay), which Brazil had claimed as its territory. With the aid of Argentina this revolution was successful. The Brazilian troops were decisively beaten, and the Brazilian fleet was destroyed. Uruguay's independence was established on August 27, 1828.

In 1826, King João, the father of Dom Pedro, died and left the young Brazilian ruler heir to the throne of Portugal. It was evident that Dom Pedro could not rule both countries. His popularity in Brazil was rapidly waning. Consequently he decided to abdicate the Brazilian throne. This he did on April 6, 1831 and sailed away one week later to claim for himself the Portuguese crown.

#### THE SECOND EMPIRE (1831-1889)

The successor to the Brazilian throne was the five-year-old Dom Pedro de Alcântara. This young boy was acclaimed as the second emperor of Brazil under the name of Dom Pedro II. The distinguished intellectual, José Bonifácio, was made his tutor. A council of three was selected to act as regents of the throne. Under the regency many changes took place

in Brazil. Political parties began to develop. A liberal newspaper was founded. The country started on the way toward the development of self-government. A bank of deposit and issue was established. The war against the Indians was terminated. Education was emphasized. The model secondary school, *Colegio Pedro II*, which continues today, was established in 1837. The Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute was organized.

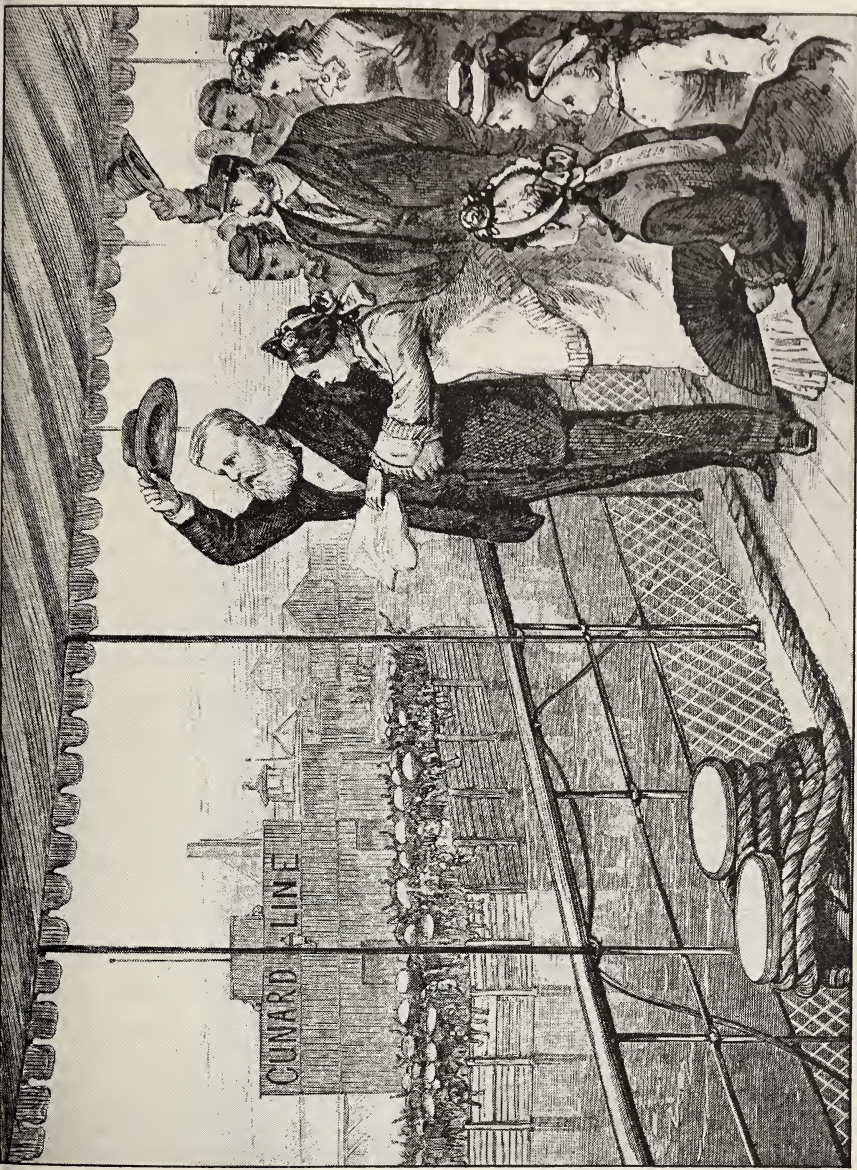
**The Long Rule of Dom Pedro II.** When Dom Pedro was not quite fifteen, he was declared of legal age. The regency was discontinued, and the young man started his long rule, which lasted until the establishment of the republic in 1889. Dom Pedro is recognized as one of the world's greatest benevolent rulers. He was more in love with the sciences and the arts than with politics. If his subjects complained of anything, it was that he paid too much attention to intellectual pursuits and too little to the details of government. He frequently took long trips into the interior, accompanied by foreign intellectuals whom he invited to aid in Brazil's development. His viewpoint was broadened by trips to Europe. In 1876 he made his famous visit to the United States on the occasion of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia. Dom Pedro exercised his power with moderation and would not tolerate dishonesty in the government. Under his rule the Brazilian parliament worked effectively, with a balance between the liberal and conservative parties.

Dom Pedro engaged in two foreign wars with his Southern neighbors.

Argentina's dictator, Rosas, was continually making efforts to control Uruguay, which had become the buffer state between the two largest South American nations. In 1851 the Brazilian government decided that it was necessary to overthrow Rosas, believing that otherwise the dictator would annex Uruguay to Argentina. An alliance between Brazil, the liberals of Uruguay, and General Urquiza (the governor of the Argentine provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes and leader of the opposition to Rosas) was arranged. At the battle of Monte Caseros, on February 3, 1852, Rosas was defeated. This marked the last armed encounter between Argentina and Brazil over the control of Uruguay.

It was the rise of another dictator with imperialistic designs, Francisco Solano López of Paraguay, that brought Brazil into Dom Pedro's second war. López of Paraguay patterned his imperialistic ideas after those of Napoleon III. After his inauguration as the chief executive of Paraguay, he attempted to extend his rule over all of central South America. His first move was the invasion, in 1864, of the adjoining Brazilian territory. This brought Brazil into the war. Argentina soon joined Brazil in the conflict. However, jealousy developed between Brazil and Argentina as to which nation would furnish the commander in chief. Through lack of co-operation the war lasted for five long years. Brazil lost thousands of soldiers, many of them through disease and disorganization. The war brought great criticism upon Dom Pedro and probably hastened the movement for the establishment of a republic.





*Bettman Archive*

After his visit to the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876, Dom Pedro II of Brazil and the empress departed for Europe on the Cunard steamer *Russia*.

Another question which aided this movement was that of slavery. For a long time the process of the gradual abolition of slavery continued. On November 14, 1850, the Brazilian parliament had adopted a law abolishing slave traffic. Five years later the traffic in slaves had almost ceased. Many projects were introduced into parliament providing for complete abolition. The emperor favored the measure, but he believed that it should be accomplished slowly and that the owners should be compensated for their property. In 1871 a law was passed freeing the children of slaves who were born after that date. Dom Pedro declared that he had rather lose his crown than allow slavery to be permanent in Brazil. While the emperor was on one of his trips to Europe, his daughter, Princess Isabel, acting as regent, took the bold step of completely abolishing slavery. On May 13, 1888, the law was passed which freed the approximately 740,000 Negroes who remained slaves at that time. No compensation was given to the owners.

Strangely enough, the emperor and his family by their own liberal rule had prepared for the establishing of the republic. Army officers, taking advantage of the growing liberal ideas, became insubordinate and used the press to criticize the government. The conservative landowners, who had lost heavily with the freeing of the slaves, sided with the enemies of the emperor. The crisis came in November, 1889. When rumors were circulated that some of the less reliable regiments would be transferred from the capital to faraway posts, the army seized control of the government and arrested

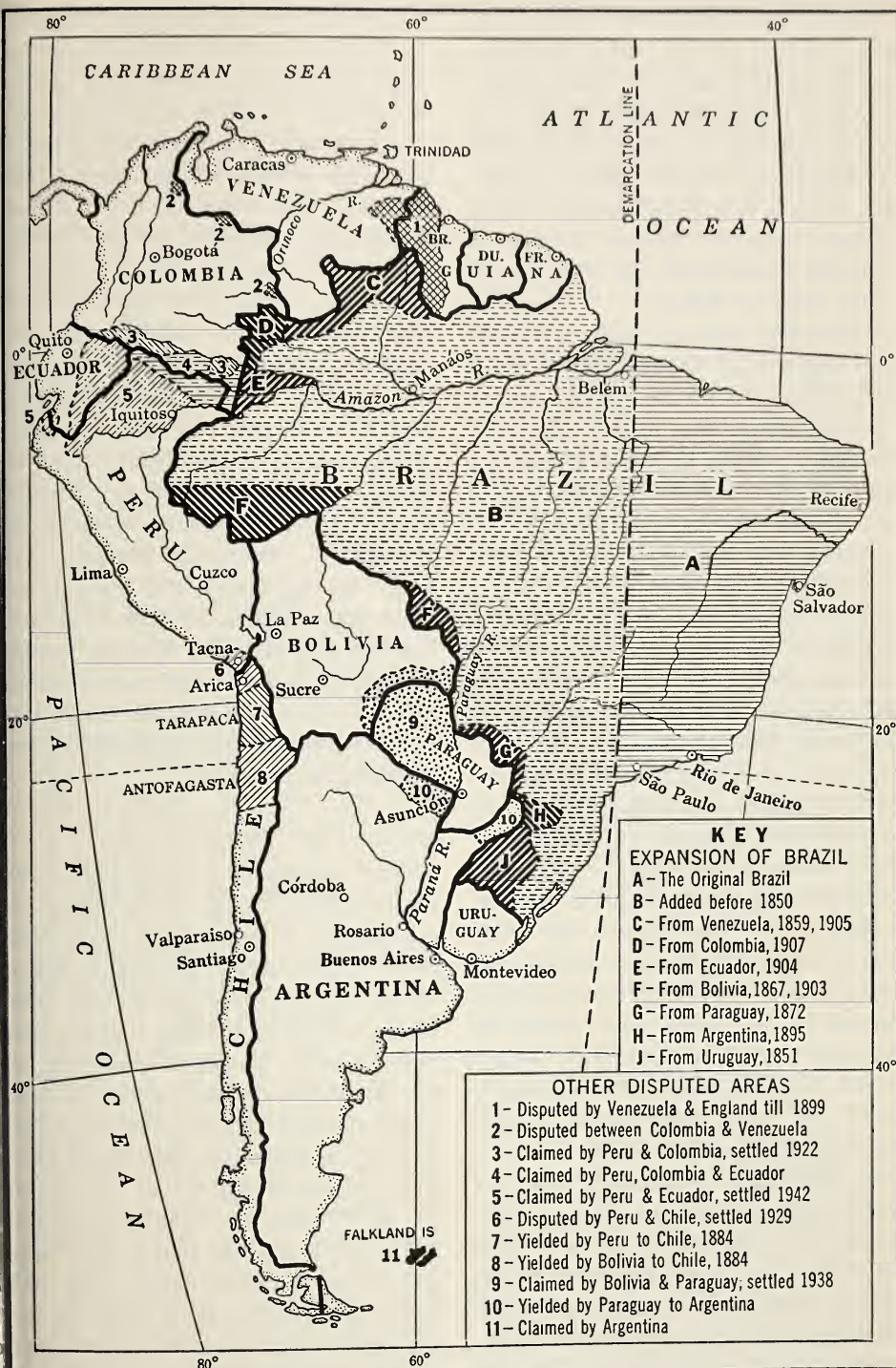
the members of the ministry. General Deodoro da Fonseca led the movement to banish Dom Pedro and his family. The scene was one of the most touching in history. The old emperor, Dom Pedro, with the empress, his daughter Isabel, and other members of the royal family, received quietly in their palace the delegation which came to inform them that the ship upon which they must leave was awaiting them in the harbor. Without any attempt to call his friends to protect him, the aged emperor and his family went silently, with their heads high, to the waiting ship. On November 17, 1889, Dom Pedro sailed out of the beautiful harbor of Rio de Janeiro, never to return.

#### THE "OLD REPUBLIC" (1889-1930)

The republic which began in 1889 is known as the "Old Republic" to distinguish it from the new regime begun by Getulio Vargas in 1930. The republic was destined to meet many difficulties. A new constitution modeled on that of the United States was adopted by the congress in 1891.

**First Presidents.** The first elected president was Deodoro da Fonseca, who had previously seized control of the government, and the vice-president was Marshal Floriano Peixoto. When the president quarreled with the congress and assumed dictatorial powers, the navy revolted. Fonseca resigned, and Vice-President Peixoto took over the presidential authority. The naval revolt looked exceedingly dangerous but was finally suppressed. A long period of unrest and civil war ensued before order was restored throughout the country. Military dictatorships were the order of the day.







**The Period from 1894-1930.** The first civilian to be chief executive was Prudente José de Moraes Barros, a liberal leader from São Paulo. He granted amnesty to political prisoners. He was able, after four years of fighting, to put down the rebellion of a strange religious fanatic known as Antonio Conselheiro, in the interior of the state of Bahia.

Following Barros, Manoel Ferraz de Campos Salles became president. His actions started the country on the upward grade. He improved the financial situation by floating loans in Europe. He settled threatening disputes with Bolivia and France.

About this time Brazil, under the leadership of her distinguished diplomat, Baron do Rio Branco, began to negotiate agreements which settled boundary disputes with Bolivia and the Guianas. Rio Branco was one of the most distinguished of Brazilian diplomats. He contributed much, not only to Brazil's peaceful efforts, but to the development of the whole Pan-American movement. In 1910 Marshal Hermes da Fonseca became president. He reorganized the army and the navy, improved financial conditions, and initiated governmental control of the coffee and rubber industries. Brazil entered the World War in 1917, having declared officially that she was following the United States in her foreign policy.

In 1922 Brazil celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of her independence by opening an international exhibition in Rio de Janeiro. The United States sent one of its most-distinguished citizens, Charles Evans Hughes, as its representative at these festivities. An act of the Brazilian

congress provided for the return of the remains of Dom Pedro II and his empress to Brazil, where they are interred in the cathedral at Petropolis.

At this time Brazil was less progressive than several of the other Latin American countries in her national organization. Her federal government took little interest in promoting a balanced economic program, general education, or the improvement of conditions in the states distant from the capital. The foreign debt was rapidly mounting. Of the two great money-making crops, rubber had already surrendered to the much larger volume produced by the great plantations in Java and Malaya, and coffee was meeting stiff competition from the supplies of Colombia and Central America. A mediocre group of politicians succeeded each other in office. A revolution which broke out in 1924 was quickly suppressed by the government forces.

### THE "NEW REPUBLIC"

This period was inaugurated by Getulio Vargas, who later called his government *O Estado Novo* ("the New State"). The world depression began to be felt in Brazil about the time of the elections in 1930. Brazil had always been a heavy borrower of foreign capital. One billion of her two-and-a-half billion of foreign capital was imported in the years following the first World War. The crash in Wall Street in 1929 stopped this inflow of loans. It was a good time for those Brazilian states that had been excluded from sharing in the political spoils to assert their rights.

The revolution that was begun in 1930 started, as in Mexico, for the

purpose of political reform. It was aimed against the domination in political affairs of the state of São Paulo, the center of the coffee industry. The term of President Washington Luis, who represented São Paulo, closed on November, 1930. He favored as his successor Julio Prestes, another representative of São Paulo. He was opposed by Dr. Getulio Vargas, governor of the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. The liberals, who actually polled more than 700,000 out of the nearly 2,000,000 votes cast, believed that this vote would have been larger had the polling been fair. Vargas then started a revolution. After several weeks of fighting, he placed himself at the head of the government in Rio de Janeiro. He had not been long in power when a growing dissatisfaction began to be manifest in various states, due largely to his failure to return to constitutional government. It culminated in 1932 in the São Paulo revolt. Not since the War between the States in the United States had there been such a sanguinary conflict in the Western Hemisphere.

**The Rule of Getulio Vargas.** After nearly three months of fighting the government forces succeeded finally in quelling the revolt; but the opposition to Vargas continued in the south, particularly in São Paulo. Soon after taking office, Vargas dissolved the congress and frankly designated himself as dictator. In his decree ordering the dissolution of congress and the organization of the provisional government, he provided for a new constitution. The constitution up to that time had been the one adopted by the first Brazilian republic in 1891,

modeled on the Constitution of the United States.

A Constitutional Assembly was appointed for the purpose of writing a new charter. The debates which followed revealed the great change of thought which had recently come over this conservative country. Brazil, with her inheritances from the empire, has been slower than some of her sister states to welcome the more radical social attitudes. The long discussions of the convention revealed the mind of the nation in both its wise and unwise aspects. As finally adopted in 1934, the constitution bore little trace of the more radical proposals discussed by the assembly.

The strong note of nationalism (formerly less prominent in Brazil than in any other large country) that pervaded the assembly indicated that a marked change was coming over the land. Not only nationalism but a minor tinge of socialism had a place in the new document. Universal suffrage was granted. The extension of the vote to women was a striking innovation as well as an eloquent demonstration of the powerful position women had come to assume in a land where formerly they had been very backward in political life. The drastic limitation of immigration, which was imposed by a minority group after a newspaper campaign against the Japanese, was soon recognized as a mistake, and congress considered a revision of the provision that the annual immigration from any country may not exceed 2 per cent of the total number entering Brazil during the past fifty years. The provision which required that foreign enterprises and industries be directed and managed by Brazil-

ians was in accord with general Latin-American trends to compel foreign capital to contribute to national development. From the point of view of internal development, the end of the domination of the central states and the "nationalization" of the federal government were the most significant changes.

Two days after promulgating the new constitution, the assembly, on July 17, 1934, acting under its rights, elected as the first president under the new constitution Dr. Getulio Vargas, the provisional president since the revolution in 1930. Thus Brazil, with a more modern charter, looking, at least in a small way, toward the reduction of the tremendous inequalities between the rich and the poor, returned to the rank of nations that were under a constitutional government.

However, the period of constitutional government was not long to endure. Once having opened the way to modern influences, Brazil found herself torn by conflicting ideologies. Communism appealed to a certain group of young army and navy officers and to students. Much stronger was the Fascist faction, which organized in Brazil under the name of Integralists. The Integralists advocated a national culture and a political organization similar to the Italian corporations. They wore green shirts, organized bands of armed troops, held many parades and conventions, and announced salvation through nationalism. They fitted well into the fifth-column activities of the German colonists. The Germans themselves numbered about one million. Most of them lived in the three southern

states of Brazil. But their organizational skill resided in the large staff of trained officials in the German Embassy in Rio de Janeiro, in the consulate at São Paulo, and in other key cities. Besides these foreign influences there were the ordinary parties usually organized along conservative and liberal lines.

Three prominent Brazilians announced their candidacy in the presidential elections in 1937. After they had campaigned for several weeks, President Vargas canceled the elections. Conditions, he said, were too chaotic, foreign influences were too threatening, to allow a national election. A few weeks after this announcement, Brazil was presented with a new constitution (November 10, 1937). *O Estado Novo* was defined in a long involved document filled with terms made familiar by the "New Order" in Italy and Germany. The democratic world was greatly disturbed. It looked as though the first Fascist state had been organized in America. Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian ambassador in Washington, rushed back to Rio de Janeiro where he, with the United States ambassador and other liberal forces, put pressure on Vargas to declare in favor of loyalty to the Pan-American movement and democratic processes. The president accepted the advice. He stated openly that this new state was an effort to give Brazil a government which would meet in a new, vigorous, efficient way the economic and social problems of the nation. But this was to be, Vargas declared, within the American system and by no means in imitation of Europe.

The president assumed dictatorial



powers once more. Members of congress were sent home. Political opponents were severely dealt with. But the social program, of which Vargas was very proud, continued. The German fifth-column movement continued to interfere with internal order. The German Embassy and the Integralist party were accused of initiating a revolutionary plot which almost made away with the president. One night when Vargas and his daughter were working late in the presidential palace, a group of armed men attacked the residence. With the help of his plucky daughter, Alzira, he shot it out with the intruders. Help arrived promptly enough to suppress the planned revolution. President Vargas boldly accused the Germans of fomenting the plot and asked for the recall of the German ambassador.

About this time, March, 1939, Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, minister of Foreign Affairs, was invited to Washington. There an agreement was signed whereby Brazil promised to sell important war material only to the United States. This country agreed to a loan of \$20,000,000 to build a steel mill near Rio de Janeiro and to build a railroad from the coast to the large iron and manganese mines. Brazil agreed that her territory might be used as bases in ferrying our bombers across from Natal to Africa and on to the Allied forces in the Mediterranean.

**Brazil Lines Up with the United States.** Following the fateful December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Brazil showed sympathy with the United States. She acted as host to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs who met in Rio de Janeiro on January 15, 1942, to plan continental ac-

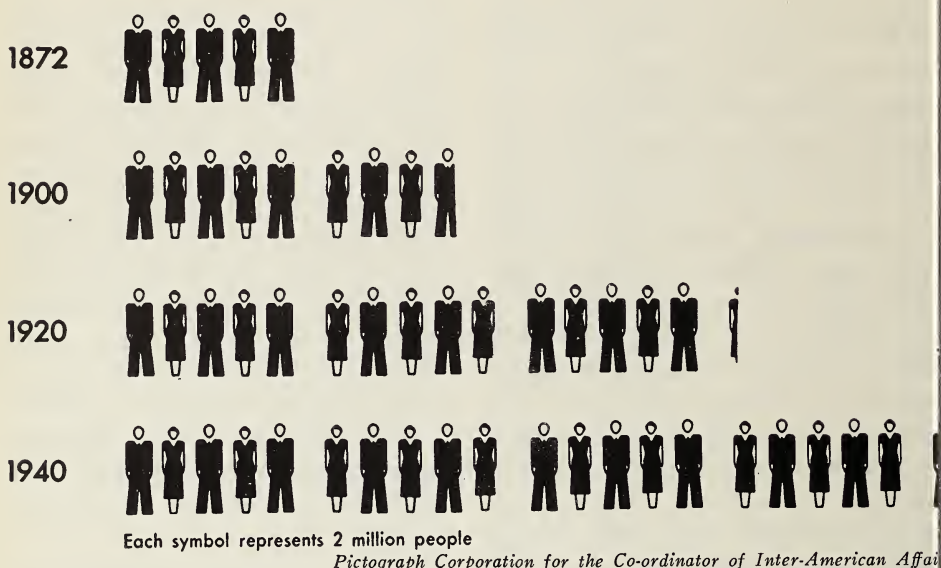
tion against the Axis. Misguided critics in the United States, who had prophesied that Vargas, being a dictator, would place himself on Germany's side, were rebuked when Brazil announced, during the conference, that she had broken relations with the Axis. This especially angered Hitler, since he had greatly counted on the effective influence of the million German-speaking people in Brazil. German submarines immediately began to make a special effort to sink Brazilian ships. Following the loss of several hundred lives in the sinking of five Brazilian ships, President Roosevelt, on August 20, 1942, sent the following message to President Vargas:

In this moment of grave menace to the respect, integrity, and the destiny of Brazil, I reiterate once again the abiding friendship of the people of the United States for the people of Brazil, their profound gratitude for the co-operation in the defense of the hemisphere which already has resulted in many sacrifices to Brazil. . . . I want you to know that my thoughts and sympathy are with you in this critical hour.

Two days later Brazil announced a state of war with the Axis powers. She prepared more than ever to place her enormous economic resources at the disposal of the United Nations.

**Social Aspects of the "New State."** In 1940 Brazil celebrated the tenth anniversary of the inauguration of the New State. Whether or not the country had advanced in the matter of self-government was questionable. There was no question, however, about the improved economic and social conditions. No longer do the rich states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais rule the nation. Scientifically

## POPULATION GROWTH IN BRAZIL



conducted departments of government develop plans for long-neglected areas, swamp and drought regions, rubber lands and grassy plains. New cities are springing up in the far-distant interior.

The State of Goiaz, larger than Texas, had grown so rapidly that it was dissatisfied with its out-of-date capital. Engineers and public-health experts were told to locate, plan, and build a model capital city. Made to order were the streets, the parks, the public buildings, the schools, the factories, and the playgrounds. They never expect to have a slum, an epidemic, or a traffic jam in this model city, Goiânia. "Go west, young man," is the advice followed in Brazil today with as much enthusiasm as in the United States seventy-five years ago. New railways, highways, and airways are aiding in this conquest of the frontiers.

**Social Legislation.** No advance in Brazil has been greater than that of better labor conditions. In his presidential platform of 1930 Getulio Vargas declared: "The existence of the social question in Brazil cannot be denied as one of the problems that will have to be faced with all seriousness by the public authorities." And he added: "A co-ordination of effort is urgent—for the study and adoption of unified measures which will form our Code for Labor." "There devolves upon us, also, the duty of aiding the laboring classes by measures which will assure them relative comfort and stability, and protect them in illness and old age."

Although Brazil had joined the International Bureau of Labor at Geneva in 1920, ten years had gone by without the working masses of the country having benefited from the act of the government. A few weeks





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

On this sugar-cane plantation in Bahia, Brazil, oxen are used to haul the product in from the fields and take it to market. There are few railroads in the State of Bahia.

After becoming president, in November, 1930, Vargas created the Ministry of Labor. From March, 1931, to April, 1941, more than 161 new laws were decreed concerning social security and the regulating of labor in almost all of its aspects. It is interesting to note that this legislation was a normal evolution, since it was not preceded by strikes or disturbances of any other kind.

**Work Is a Social Duty.** The Constitution of 1934 reflected this transformation wrought in the country whose administrators undertook to solve the conflicts between capital and labor by enacting laws which created reciprocal

rights and duties. The Constitution of 1937 went further in this direction. It set forth in Article 136 that labor is a social duty, having a right to the special protection of the government. At the very start it established the principle that all Brazilians are guaranteed the right to live by means of honest labor. This is an individual right, a social good, which it is the duty of the state to protect.

The right of labor to collective bargaining was recognized. Laws were passed providing for minimum wages, paid vacations, an eight-hour day, free medical aid, and insurance covering health, old age, and accidents. Child



labor under the age of 14 was prohibited. The strike and the lockout were declared to be anti-social methods, harmful both to labor and capital and incompatible with the highest interests of national production. Conflicts arising from relations between employers and employees were to be settled by judicial procedure.

**Economic Development.** Brazil with a total area of 3,286,170 square miles occupies nearly half the continent of South America. This vast area, greater than that of the forty-eight states of the United States of America, is inhabited by less than 45,000,000 people. Thus Brazil offers opportunities for settlement, and her vast resources, agricultural and mineral, predict a future large in possibilities. At present agriculture is the most important source of wealth. The major commercial products are coffee, sugar, cotton, cacao, hides and skins, meats, fruits, oilseeds, tobacco, mate, and rubber.

**Cultural Advance.** The enlarged circulation of reading matter among the people of Brazil is very noticeable. Great publishing houses in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo produce enormous amounts of cheap books. Most of these are serious books on national problems. A number of fine sociological novels have recently been published. Translations of books from the United States are gaining on French literature which has long been dominant. The public libraries are beginning to adopt United States' methods of popularizing circulation. The National Book Institute of Rio de Janeiro is encouraging the organization of libraries in small towns by offering to donate an initial forty

volumes to be followed by an additional fifty volumes each month.

The government has recently published a book entitled *Brazil Is Good*. It is for wide distribution among children. An extract reads:

Brazil is good because it makes no distinction between races and holds no prejudices on account of race and color. Merit alone gives the privilege of social ascent. Brazil is good because it is a democracy, a government by the people. The republican and representative form of government is part of our constitutional foundation. . . . Our constitution is not materialistic because it does not place the economic system above all else, the principle adopted in fascistic and communistic systems . . . the new regime instituted in Brazil is, above all, the one in which the fundamental principle of the value of the human factor is affirmed.

**International Relations.** Brazil has been noted for its well-trained diplomats and leadership in international conferences. As the largest country in South America, her frontiers bordering on seven other republics, she has been a strong advocate of settling disputes by arbitration. Relations between Brazil and the United States have been notably cordial—although this does not mean that the two countries have not had their quarrels. Brazil appointed her first minister to the United States in 1810, at which time Washington sent John Graham as minister to Rio de Janeiro. Following President Monroe's doctrine of "America for the Americans," Dom Pedro I, just two years after Brazil had gained her independence, approved the doctrine. He sent his minister to Washington to suggest an alliance with the United States in order to defend the continent. In

1906 a great public building in Rio de Janeiro was dedicated by Secretary of State Elihu Root as the Monroe Palace. At Pan-American conferences Brazil has always defended the Monroe Doctrine. Brazil followed the United States into both World Wars in order to defend the American continent. Commercial relations, with Brazil exchanging her coffee and rubber for the manufactured goods of the United States, are one explanation of these close relations. But the moral sympathy felt between the two countries is emphasized by the fact that whether Brazil was a monarchy, a loosely organized republic, or was dominated by the strong hand of a Getulio Vargas, that friendship has remained the same.

The great rival of Brazil is Argentina. This rivalry began in colonial days, when the Portuguese and Spanish were struggling for dominance in eastern South America. Following independence this rivalry continued, especially in efforts to control the buffer region, now the Republic of Uruguay. During the first quarter of a century of the independent life of Brazil and Argentina, intermittent wars over the dominance of the neighboring Uruguay were in progress. The same complicated question concerning dominance in eastern South America was at the bottom of the Paraguayan War (1865-1870), although the two strong nations were allies during that struggle. At the conclusion of that war the territorial disputes were settled by arbitration. Brazil made a fine gesture of good

will to Paraguay in 1943, when she told the visiting president from Asunción that Paraguay's war debts held in Rio de Janeiro since 1870 were cancelled.

Although Brazil is larger than either the United States or Argentina, she has escaped many of the jealousies and fears which other American nations have felt toward those two countries. In inter-American conferences the statesmen from Rio de Janeiro have often acted as adjusters of differences between the other republics.

Brazil, as a belligerent in the first World War, was a charter member of the League of Nations. She furnished leadership for much of the League's work. When the United States left vacant the permanent position on the League's Council, Brazil felt that the place should be given to her. When this was refused during the reorganization of the League in 1926, Brazil resigned.

As one of the most American of the countries of the New World, Brazil has at the same time maintained cordial relations with Europe. Great Britain occupied a pre-eminent place in Brazilian economic life until the first World War, and France was her inspiration in the cultural world. Germany made a great bid for dominance in both fields, especially during the 1930's. But with the outbreak of the second World War it was more than ever clear that Brazil desired to co-operate with the United States and the other American republics for continental and world solidarity.

### Words and Terms to Learn

Integralist party	fifth-column activities
<i>O Estado Novo</i>	<i>Grito de Ipiranga</i>
ideologies	international relations

### People to Identify

Cabral	Barros
Bonifacio	Getulio Vargas
Dom Pedro II	Oswaldo Aranha
	Rio Branco

### Learning through Discussion

1. Give five facts about Brazil which make it unique among the nations of Latin America.
2. How did Napoleon indirectly free Brazil from colonial restrictions?
3. Why was the *Grito de Ipiranga* a clever move on the part of Pedro I?
4. What part did José Bonifacio play in Brazil's history?
5. Discuss the two instances when Brazil was involved in war with neighboring states.
6. Why was Dom Pedro II called "the ruler of the only democracy in Latin America"?
7. Contrast the method of abolishing slavery in Brazil with that in the United States.
8. Why are the names Deodoro da Fonseca and Rio Branco important in Brazilian history?
9. Why did Brazil enter both World War I and World War II?
10. Explain how Vargas became president of Brazil.
11. What important changes were made by the Constitution of 1934?
12. What caused Brazil to resign from the League of Nations?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map of the United States, superimpose a map of Brazil so as to gain an idea of the comparative size of these two countries.
2. Point out on a map of Brazil the following:
  - (a) The three great geographic and economic divisions of Brazil—South, Central, North.
  - (b) The Amazon River and its principal tributaries.
  - (c) The seven other republics whose boundaries touch Brazil.
  - (d) The countries with whom foreign trade is carried on.
  - (e) Regions of the most important products—coffee, rubber, cotton, iron, diamonds.
  - (f) The strategic importance of Brazil to the United States during the second World War, with the establishment of a "ferry" between Natal, Brazil and Dakar, Africa, for transfer of war materials to the Eastern Hemisphere.



### Projects and Problems

1. Give an oral report on one of the following topics:
  - (a) The Early Settlement of Brazil
  - (b) How Brazil Became an Empire
  - (c) Strange Peoples of the Amazon Region
  - (d) Diamond Mining in Brazil
2. As a newspaper correspondent, write an article reporting the meeting of President Roosevelt on his return from North Africa with President Vargas, and their discussion concerning co-operation to win the war.
3. Come to class prepared to discuss the question of how Brazil lost her rubber trade to the Far East and the way in which the United States is helping her to regain that trade.
4. The class may engage in a debate on this subject: Is President Vargas justified in suspending Congress and ruling by presidential decree, in order, as he claims, to unite a divided country, to control foreign elements, to advance the rights of labor, and to give education to the common people?
5. Compare the development of the United States and Brazil in the following ways:

The freeing of the slaves	Rivalry between agriculture and industry
The conquering of the West	Dominant influence of São Paulo in Brazil and New York
The influence of British capital	
The treatment of the Negroes	

### XIII. ARGENTINA

Modern Argentina is the best organized of the South American republics. Since it got a late start compared with other colonies, long years after its independence were required to bring about national unity. Buenos Aires paid tribute to the queenly city of Lima in the sixteenth century. Even Asunción, Paraguay, was the seat of a bishopric which once gave orders to the little town on La Plata River. There were two principal reasons for the backwardness of Argentina. The rule of Spain required that foreign trade be carried on through Lima and Panama, so that such trade with other than the mother country could be prevented. Since Argentina lacked the mineral wealth so richly possessed by the west coast of South America, the Plata region was one of the poorest and most backward colonial sections. Its Indians were, like those of North America, of a nomadic type and could not be reduced to the status of agricultural serfs. The colonists lived in sparsely settled communities and naturally enjoyed greater autonomy than did the richer groups in Peru and Mexico. On securing their independence, the people of the viceroyalty of La Plata had already developed two characteristics which are marked today — independence of action and close commercial and cul-

tural relations with the continent of Europe.

The first fight waged by the Argentines for their independence was against not Spain, but England. In 1806 a force of British soldiers on their return from South Africa, attacked Buenos Aires, with the intention of establishing there a port for their developing empire. The citizens, in spite of the ineptness of the Spanish authorities, rose with such ferocity that the British were decisively defeated. That lesson brewed a confidence in their power to defend themselves against a foreign foe that has remained with the Argentines until this day.

Strangely enough, the second fight for freedom was not against Spain either, but against Napoleon Bonaparte and his brother, who was occupying the Spanish throne. The uprising was on May 25, 1810. It resulted in the formation of the government of the United Provinces of Argentina, which was faithful to the deposed Spanish king, Ferdinand VII. It was not until July 9, 1816, that the movement culminated in a declaration of independence from Spain. On that day the congress meeting in the northern city of Tucumán declared

Invoking the God who presides over the Universe, in the name and by the author



ty of the people whom we represent . . .  
 it is the unanimous desire of the United  
 Provinces to sever the oppressive bonds  
 which connect them with the kings of  
 Spain; to recover the rights of which they  
 were deprived, and to assume the exalted  
 position of a nation free and independent  
 of King Ferdinand VII, of his successors,  
 and of the mother country, and to remain  
 in consequence by fact and by right,

with full and ample power to give them-  
 selves the political organization which  
 justice demands and which is required by  
 the present circumstances. Each one and  
 all of the provinces, thus, make public,  
 declare and ratify this act, and on our  
 part we pledge ourselves to the fulfilment  
 and maintenance of their wish, under the  
 security and guarantee of our lives, our  
 property, and our honor.



An immense problem, that of unifying the numerous scattered groups, faced the signers of Argentina's Declaration of Independence, just as it did the founding fathers of the United States. Twelve years after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation the United States replaced them with a constitution uniting its states in a federal union. Argentina did not succeed in adopting a constitution which consolidated her provinces until 1853. Not until 1862, under General Bartolomé Mitre, was the federal government actually able to function. From the years 1816 to 1860 there were three outstanding political leaders, Bernardino Rivadavia, Juan Manuel Rosas, and General Justo José de Urquiza.

#### EARLY LEADERS OF ARGENTINA (1816-1860)

**Bernardino Rivadavia.** In 1820 Bernardino Rivadavia was minister of state of Buenos Aires. His desire was to unite the wild Gauchos, as the cowboys of the South American plains are called, with the urban-minded people of his city in order that a real nation could be built. In his efforts at reconstruction he put into effect a whole series of reforms in the civil government and the courts, as well as in the ecclesiastical and economic institutions of the province. He set the foundations for most of the solid principles which have assured Argentina's great development. He worked toward the establishment of universal suffrage, improved port and postal facilities, encouragement of immigration, regulation of the treasury, the founding of new schools (including a university), and control

of religious orders. Foreign trade increased rapidly, and the government's reputation abroad grew until it was able to obtain a \$3,000,000 loan from England for the improvement of port and city water supplies. In 1824 the governments of both England and the United States extended recognition to Argentina. Rivadavia was called by Mitre the greatest statesman of America, with the exception of Washington. The nation has erected a statue to him in Buenos Aires on which is inscribed, "The Greatest of Argentines."

But the forces of division were too great for even a leader like Rivadavia. In an effort to bring the country together he resigned the presidency in 1827, after two years of labor toward this end. Soon there appeared on the scene the man who was to dominate Argentina for the next twenty-five years. This was the famous Juan Manuel de Rosas.

**Juan Manuel de Rosas.** Rosas was a strange combination of Gaucho and resident of metropolitan Buenos Aires. With such a combination of loyalties, he was able to rule Argentina in spite of the opposition of a strong group of liberals. Among the liberals who fought Rosas with their powerful pens were Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Juan Bautista Alberdi and Bartolomé Mitre. During Rosas' regime they lived, for the most part in exile in the neighboring countries of Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Peru while they planned the downfall of the dictator. They were aided, indirectly, by France, who became so incensed at the treatment of foreigners that in 1838 it sent its fleet up the La Plata River and blockaded Buenos

Aires in an effort to overthrow Rosas. In 1840 a treaty was signed under which the French claims were to be arbitrated, and the French withdrew. But Rosas did not live up to the terms of the treaty. Again he was in difficulty with France and also, a little later, with Great Britain, who objected to the effect on trade caused by Rosas's long blockade of Montevideo. In 1845 both France and Great Britain blockaded Buenos Aires and sent their fleets to assist in the defense of Montevideo. This invasion by the European powers was a major reason for the fall of Rosas. Even in his latter days, however, when he used cruelty to the utmost, he retained the loyalty of a certain number of the rich merchants and landholders. When he was compelled to retire from Argentina, he went to England on board a British ship and lived as a gentleman in Southampton until his death in 1877.

However grave his faults, Rosas had, no doubt, contributed to the cementing of Argentine unity. Let us pause here to consider this long struggle to find a balance between states' rights and an efficient central government. It had many features similar to the struggle in the United States. Both countries sustained a major war before the problem was settled. The province of La Plata was organized provisionally from 1810 to 1819 under various constitutional acts called "Provisional Statutes." Their first constitution was ratified by the congress at Buenos Aires in 1819. Five years later another convention in Buenos Aires drew up a constitution which was submitted to the provinces in 1826. It was rejected

by the majority. Then it was that the local military chieftains, or *caudillos*, came to power. From among them came the ruthless, efficient Rosas. He it was, strangely enough, who shaped and nurtured the federal idea. At the end of his regime the principle of unity was so firmly believed in that it was written into the constitution adopted at Santa Fé on May 1, 1853. This document, with substantial modifications in 1860 and lesser amendments in 1866 and 1898, is still the supreme law of Argentina.

**Provisions of the Constitution of 1853.** The federal government has the usual division into three branches; legislative, judicial, and executive. The legislative authority is vested in a Congress of two houses, the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Two senators from each province are elected by their representative legislatures: two from the federal district are chosen by a special electoral commission. The term is for nine years, with no bar to re-election. The thirty members of the Senate may represent as many as eight political parties. Members of the Chamber of Deputies are chosen by direct popular vote, without property qualification, for four-year terms. The president of the republic and the vice-president are chosen directly by electors, as in the United States. The term of office is six years, and neither is eligible for an immediately succeeding term. The vice-president is the president of the senate. Eight ministers, or secretaries, provided for in the constitution, compose the official cabinet and must countersign the president's acts to give them validity.



**Justo José de Urquiza.** It was at the battle of Monte Caseros that Rosas was defeated by another of Argentina's rough soldiers, General Justo José de Urquiza, governor of the northern province of Entre Ríos. This battle was fought on February 3, 1852. For ten years thereafter the government of the Republic of Argentina was in the northern city of Paraná. During these ten years treaties were signed with the United States, Great Britain, and France; the Paraná and Uruguay rivers were opened to navigation; public education was promoted, and immigration was fostered. The province of Buenos Aires, which held aloof from the confederation during this period, also made notable progress.

#### LEADERS OF UNITED ARGENTINA (1862-1880)

**Bartolomé Mitre.** In 1862 General Bartolomé Mitre was made the president of a united Argentina, and the federation designated Buenos Aires as its capital. President Mitre is one of the outstanding characters of Argentina. A noted military leader, he is equally noted as a historian and an outstanding administrator. During Mitre's administration Argentina joined Brazil and Uruguay in war against the dictator of Paraguay, Carlos Antonio López. Mitre was commander of the federated troops in the field during a part of this five-year war. In the presidential elections which followed, Mitre, in spite of many temptations, refrained from naming a candidate. Writing to a friend he made the statement (which later became known as his *Testamento Político*) that he believed ex-

ecutives should not endeavor to influence the election of their successors.

**Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.** While he was in Washington as the representative of the Argentine government, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who had already become famous as a friend of democracy, was elected president of his country. He was inaugurated on October 12, 1868. His administration is noted for many progressive movements. While in the United States he learned to admire the educational system of that country and formed a friendship with the well-known Massachusetts educator, Horace Mann. As president, Sarmiento invited a group of North American teachers to come to Argentina and establish normal schools and kindergartens. He was also enthusiastic on two other subjects, railroads and immigration. Concerning education and immigration he once said:

I have projected two bases for the regeneration of my country: the education of the present inhabitants, in order to raise them above the moral and racial degradation into which they have fallen, and the introduction of new races into the society of today. I have followed the two ideas of popular education and immigration; I have traveled that I might clarify them, perfect them, and make them practicable.

The administration of Sarmiento was not lacking in political disturbances. His successor, Nicolás Avelaneda, was compelled to suppress a revolution under the leadership of General Mitre.

#### ARGENTINA AFTER 1880

**Julio Roca.** The next president of Argentina was General Julio Roca, who was as vigorous in his way as



General Jackson proved to be when he became the president of the United States. Roca is especially known for his campaign against the Indians, in which he drove them from the rich plains of central Argentina into the less fertile northern and southern sections. Thus he released rich farm lands for the use of immigrants. Europeans had by now discovered the riches of Argentina and were coming into the country at the rate of 100,000 per year. This epoch marks the beginning of modern Argentina. During General Roca's administration, from 1880 to 1886, foreign trade was doubled and railroad mileage was increased 100 per cent. The total number of immigrants who settled in Argentina during this six-year period reached 483,000.

Political turmoil, however, had not yet ceased. Several successors of General Roca met with attempts at revolution. In 1898 the country, feeling the need of a strong government, called Roca again to the presidency. He chose as his minister of foreign affairs the noted internationalist, Dr. Luis M. Drago. It was at this time that Dr. Drago, in a note to the United States, expressed what became known as the "Drago Doctrine." He stated, in connection with the blocking of Venezuelan ports by Germany and other countries for the purpose of collecting debts, that no nation had the right to collect debts by force. During President Roca's administration the long-standing boundary dispute with Chile was settled, currency was stabilized, and a labor law was passed.

In 1904 Dr. Manuel Quintana was president of Argentina. At that time

he suppressed, with considerable difficulty, a violent revolution. Upon his death, the vice-president, Dr. Figueroa Alcorta, succeeded to the presidency. He promoted public education and established the first rural schools in Argentina.

**Roque Sáenz Peña.** One of the Argentine delegates to the First Pan-American Conference in Washington in 1889, Dr. Roque Sáenz Peña, served as president of Argentina from 1910 to 1912. His administration was especially noted for the adoption of the secret ballot. The electoral laws were reformed in order to allow a larger number of people to participate. All citizens were to be allowed to vote, and minorities were given proportional representation. The reform was in response to a widespread demand.

**Victorino de la Plaza.** When President Sáenz Peña fell ill, he was replaced by the vice-president, Victorino de la Plaza. With the outbreak of the first World War he had to meet great economic difficulties. When the flow of foreign capital and foreign goods was curtailed, unemployment grew, and economic and financial difficulties became severe. It was then that the United States invited representatives of Argentina and other Latin American countries to attend a financial conference at Washington. This conference initiated a closer economic relationship between Buenos Aires and Washington.

**Hipólito Irigoyen.** In 1916 the radical party of Argentina surprisingly won the presidential elections. Hipólito Irigoyen, a strange combination of radical and isolationist (in his policy of political detachment from other countries), became president. He as-

signed his salary to charity, announced his friendship with labor, and proceeded to govern Argentina with a strong hand. He refused all pressure to carry Argentina into the war on the side of the allies, opened a thousand new schools, inaugurated social legislation, and reformed the labor codes.

The postwar conditions brought many labor strikes in Buenos Aires and at least one strike movement on a national scale, which tied up the railroads, the newspaper plants, and other public utilities in most parts of the country. However, when the cultured leader of the radical party, Dr. Marcelo de Alvear, succeeded Irigoyen to the presidency in 1922, there was a period of readjustment. This period included less excitement than most Argentine presidents had experienced during their terms in office.

In 1928 Hipólito Irigoyen, now eighty years old, was again elected president. He immediately began an endeavor to isolate the country from the rest of the world, as he also isolated himself from the general public, and especially from the capitalistic classes in Argentina itself. He attempted to attend to all of the affairs of government personally. As a result, important offices remained unfilled, and much of the business of government remained at a standstill. The beginning of the world depression intensified discontent among all classes. Because of this the more conservative capitalists and landed interests united with the army to overthrow him. Long before his downfall opposition to the government's program had steadily grown in intensity.

Although Irigoyen set himself up as a friend of the common people and was worshiped by them, he was violently hated by the aristocrats, and it became more evident day by day that a change was imminent. Rumors of all kinds were afloat. Finally, on September 6, 1930, all Buenos Aires heard the droning of military airplanes which circled over the city heralding the army's revolt. On that day General José F. Uriburu, commander in chief of the army, entered the government house with his staff and seized the reins of power.

**The Dictatorship of José F. Uriburu.** The government of General Uriburu was a dictatorship which represented the conservative groups of the country. He was an influential army officer, the son of a former conservative president, and was supported by the old aristocracy. Although he acknowledged the triumph of the radicals in elections in the province of Buenos Aires, he refused to permit them to take office. The people of Argentina, unused to such violent suppression of liberty, were so dissatisfied that they demanded that presidential elections be held. The majority party of the radicals was led by the distinguished former president Marcelo de Alvear. Uriburu soon announced, however, that the radical candidate was disqualified. This caused the radicals to refuse to go to the polls on November 8, 1931.

**Agustín P. Justo.** The conservative nominee, Agustín P. Justo, was elected. President Justo continued the persecution of the radicals and from time to time, imprisoned or exiled some of the most distinguished Argentine citizens. On the whole

however, his regime proved to be a wise compromise between the military power and the civil administration. The power of dictatorship was gradually lessened. Relations with the United States were sufficiently friendly for President Roosevelt to visit Argentina in 1936 and to open the Buenos Aires Peace Conference. Roosevelt received a hearty welcome from the people of Argentina.

**Roberto Ortiz.** In 1938 the successor of General Justo, Dr. Roberto Ortiz, initiated a clear-cut return to democratic life. He had been elected on the conservative ticket, although the radicals were acknowledged to be the most powerful political party. Dr. Ortiz soon lost the support of the more reactionary members of his party. He was a president without party support—a situation which made his position exceedingly difficult. When a scandal concerning graft in the war department was unearthed, Dr. Ortiz submitted his resignation, but it was not accepted by congress. However, his health had broken, and within a few months he was obliged to surrender his office to the vice-president, Dr. Ramón Castillo. In May, 1942, Ortiz died. This placed the whole responsibility of government, in a particularly critical time, upon a man who had not been elected to the presidency.

**Ramón Castillo.** Castillo has been called "The Fox" because of his astute handling of political questions, and his power to carry everything in favor of the conservatives. The influence of Nazi Germany in Argentina was powerful. Castillo was known to be a friend of the German ambassador. The socialist and radi-

cal members of the congress, after an investigation, reported the enormous power of fifth-column activities in the country. They called for a break in diplomatic relations with Germany, but this was resisted by Castillo.

On June 6, 1943, President Castillo was overthrown by a military uprising, led by General Pedro Ramírez, minister of war, who became president. At first it was supposed that the Ramírez government would co-operate with the United Nations and break relations with the Axis. Instead of such action, however, the new administration introduced the first real Fascist regime in America patterned after European models. The freedom of the press and the right to hold meetings and discuss public questions were denied. Germany was favored. Jews were persecuted. Efforts were begun to have Argentina regarded as the American asylum of European Fascists if and when the Axis should be defeated. Critics were jailed or sent to the cold unbearable concentration camps near the Strait of Magellan. A program of turning neighboring countries into Fascist territory seemed to show some success when a revolution in Bolivia, in December, 1943, instated a government which Argentina immediately recognized. However, dissatisfied Argentines, deeply committed to democracy, established themselves in Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, and other centers and began working for the overthrow of the detested Ramírez dictatorship.

Finally, in January, 1944, Argentina yielded to pressures, chiefly of an economic nature, which had been exerted by the United Nations and severed relations with the Axis.



### **Buenos Aires Illustrates Progress.**

The city of Buenos Aires is one of the best illustrations of the pulsating enthusiasm of South America, with its constant struggle between the old and the new, geographically, economically, spiritually. A city of nearly 3,000,000 people, its first impression is to astound the foreigner. A people who can build a world center like this challenges attention. As the visitor grows more familiar with the landmarks, he realizes that the city has various moods. With its boulevards and cafés and clubs it is like Paris. Its trade in cattle and wheat, its banks and new skyscrapers, make of it the Chicago of the South. Meeting the diplomats, the international commissions, and the intellectual leaders who come to the new rich world to sell their ideas, one calls it another Washington, for it is truly a cosmopolitan center, the crossroads of the world.

The rapid growth of Buenos Aires makes marvelous history. Its first passenger dock was opened in 1855. In 1888 it had a population of 300,000; a half century later it had 3,000,000. As for the country itself, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, Argentina had fewer than 2,000,000 inhabitants; twenty-five years later it had 4,000,000 inhabitants, and by 1938 over 13,000,000. The province of Buenos Aires, which is half as large as France but contains only 3,000,000 inhabitants, shows the possibilities for future development. The territory of Santa Cruz, about the same size, has only 12,000 population. Besides two of the greatest newspapers of modern times, *La Prensa* and *La Nación*, both of which have more than a quarter of a million circulation among the read-

ers of Spanish, there are dailies printed in more than a dozen foreign languages. The bookshops and the magazine stands in Buenos Aires display an amazing amount of literature produced in Argentina itself, to say nothing of the literary importation in many tongues from all the lands of the earth.

**Capitalism Enthroned.** Argentina is proud of its position as a leader and is desirous of maintaining the reputation of being a modern, progressive nation. The white race predominates, a fact which sociologists strongly emphasize. Members of the white aristocracy are anxious to keep out the foreign element that might bring further revolutions. Immigration is desired only as it augments the white element and serves the rich classes.

Argentina is a rich, young nation whose resources are so great that it may be blinded to the possibility of overdrawing on the future. With most citizens absorbed in business, politics is left to the politicians. Except in extreme situations, such as the last few days of the Irigoyen administration, the average individual and the press pay little attention to the way in which the government is run, and, far different from most other Latin-American countries, politics is not an absorbing topic of conversation. The capitalistic system is unanimously accepted by the ruling classes who lament the presence of the few "foreign agitators" among the laboring class, and a group of "parlor bolsheviks" among the intellectuals.

This does not mean that within the accepted capitalistic system there is not much opposition to abuses. The





*Photo by James Sawders*

This is a view of the main street—the Avenida de Mayo—of Buenos Aires. It is one of the most famous examples of baroque architecture in the world.



strong socialist party is a thorn in the side of the majority political group. It works for reforms with great vigor, but for reforms within the system, not for a new system itself.

**Economic Life.** Argentina is today the leading commercial nation of Latin America. Agriculture is the principal source of wealth. On the vast alluvial plain in the Plata Basin, extending from the Pilcomayo River on the north to the Rio Negro on the south, is a territory of about 600,000 square miles. This is the great farming region of Argentina, devoted to the raising of wheat, maize, oats, barley, linseed, and alfalfa. Stock raising is another very important industry of Argentina. Sugar cane is grown in the northern provinces. The Chaco is important for its production of quebracho extract and quebracho logs.

**International Foreign Relations.** The foreign relations of Argentina have been less disturbed than have those of most countries. Four trends may be noted. First, a disposition to settle disputes by arbitration. Half a century ago Argentina began the practice of signing treaties with other nations to settle disputes of every nature by peaceful means. The United States has been called on at various times to participate in the arbitration of disputes in which Argentina has been involved. When the Paraguayan War was over, an Argentine statesman declared that "victory gives no rights." Instead of demanding certain territory between the Pilcomayo and Verde rivers, Argentina agreed to let President Hayes of the United States act as arbiter. His decision fixed the Pilcomayo River as the boundary

in the Chaco region separating Argentina and Paraguay, thus assigning only the southern part of the region to Argentina.

Again, in 1895, a dispute arose between Argentina and Brazil over territory lying between the Iguassú and the Uruguay rivers. President Cleveland arbitrated the dispute. Again Argentina lost. As before, she accepted the decision without debate.

On still another occasion, in 1899, United States Ambassador Buchanan was requested to become a member of a commission to arbitrate the northern boundary between Chile and Argentina. Mr. Buchanan practically cast the deciding vote in this case, since he was the neutral member of the commission.

One of the most famous of arbitration victories had to do with a dispute concerning part of the boundary between Chile and Argentina. When these two countries had made all preparations for war, the friends of peace succeeded in having the question referred to arbitration. The king of England, aided by a group of engineers, rendered a decision, in 1903, which settled the location of the dividing line following the high peaks of the Andes. This was accepted by both parties. A distinguished lady in Buenos Aires suggested that some of the cannon purchased for the war should be melted to cast a statue of the Prince of Peace. The statue was cast, and with great difficulty it was hauled up the mountainside to a point on the boundary in direct line between Buenos Aires and Santiago. On an appointed day in 1904 delegations from the two countries met for the dedication of this wonderful statue





*Photo from Ewing Galloway*

The famous statue of the Christ of the Andes stands high in the mountains on the border between Argentina and Chile. Erected in 1904, it commemorates the peaceful settlement of a quarrel over boundaries. The statue was made by a famous sculptor out of the melted cannon of the two countries.



of the Christ of the Andes. The Argentines moved to the Chilean side, and the Chileans moved across the line into their neighbor's territory. There they dedicated the monument with these famous words of one of the speakers: "Sooner shall these mountains turn to dust than the people of Argentina and Chile break the peace which they this day have declared at the feet of their Redeemer."

The second trend in Argentine foreign policy is that which the Argentines call "universality." This has been interpreted as a denial of any special Pan-American organization. Argentina believes in world unity. She has been especially friendly to Europe. At times she has seemed more careful not to offend European nations than she has to befriend her sister American republics. With her emphasis on arbitration and international law, she has been more resentful probably than any other American nation at the armed interventions of the United States in small Caribbean countries.

A third policy of Argentina, growing out of her strength, has been a tendency to dominate the Plata River region. In the early days she was often at war with Brazil over the question as to which would control Uruguay. She has always had a dominant position in weak Paraguay, and has usually endeavored to control the policy of Bolivia. This has made her a rival of her great northern neighbor, Brazil. Just before the first World War an understanding known as the ABC Agreement was reached by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. While this agreement is no longer in effect, these three countries have, during the

last fifteen years, made great efforts to adjust their differences and co-operate in their foreign policies.

The fourth characteristic of Argentine foreign policy is its dominance by the nation's economic needs. This is not, of course, unusual. But Argentina has been more frank in announcing it than have most nations. "Buy from those who buy from you" has been a motto much quoted in Argentina during the last decade. It has often struck heavily at United States commerce and greatly favored that of Great Britain and Germany. At times this has seemed to go further than mere economics and to indicate a prejudice against the United States, but Argentine statesmen have always denied this. With the signing of the trade pact between the United States and Argentina in 1940, trade relations between the two countries greatly improved.

With the coming of the second World War, Argentina found herself in the same position as in the first World War in that her friendships and economic relations were intimately bound up with Europe. Her great agricultural barons sympathized with the Fascist theories. The majority of her people are thoroughly democratic. They are coming increasingly to believe that the idea of "Yankee imperialism" has been overemphasized, that the future of Argentina is with America. The Argentine government under President Ortiz moved toward intimate co-operation with the United States, Great Britain, and the other United Nations. With the illness and death of Dr. Ortiz in 1942, his vice-president and successor, Dr. Ramón Castillo, endeavored to chart

a course of neutrality. This led to a state of siege and the suppression of a free press, a condition which was greatly resented by the people. When Brazil declared war on the Axis Powers on August 22, 1942, it made the position of Argentina more difficult than ever. At war, Brazil would necessarily enlarge her army and navy to the point where Argentina with her military forces at a peacetime level would be at a disadvantage.

Argentina has often opposed the United States at Pan-American conferences. Each of these nations, because of its strategic position, is inclined to believe that it ought to have the authority of the big brother in the Pan-American family. Their disagreements are due, not so much to their differences as to their similarities. Both occupy similar geographic positions, one north, the other south of the equator. Both have made a strong point of neutrality in wars that did not especially touch their own interests. Both have tended to deal directly and individually with other nations and to question the advisability of trusting their problems to international organizations—although the United States co-operated much less with the League of Nations than Argentina has with the Pan American Union.

In spite of their numerous disagreements Argentina has never but once had a serious diplomatic dispute with the United States—the one concerning the Falkland Islands. Lying off the southeastern coast of Argentina, these islands are valuable for their strategic approach to the Strait of Magellan and as a naval base which, if con-

trolled by a hostile power, would greatly endanger Argentina. In the eighteenth century Great Britain had claimed these islands, but Spain had denied the claim and maintained a small garrison there up to the time of Argentina's independence. In 1823 Argentina appointed a governor and later granted him a monopoly of seal fisheries for twenty years. This was a denial of the right of the United States and other countries to fish in these seas. As a result the Argentine governor, Louis Vernet, seized three American whaling vessels and arrested the crews. The United States consul protested this act, and sent the U.S.S. *Lexington* to the Falklands to exact reprisals (1831).

A diplomatic controversy ensued which has not yet been settled. To complicate matters, a British warship soon arrived and took possession of the islands, declaring that Britain had never surrendered her claim of the previous century. From that day the British have retained control. Argentina's protests to the United States for damages for the attack on her settlement have been renewed from time to time. The reply of the United States has always been that it could not consider the question so long as the ownership of the islands was in dispute. The last protest to Washington was made in 1886. Periodic claims on Great Britain for the return of the islands have also been made by Argentina. The second World War offered a favorable opportunity for the two Anglo-Saxon democracies to arrange a friendly settlement of this long-standing question.



### Words and Terms to Learn

isolationist  
arbitration  
Gaucho

Christ of the Andes  
Drago Doctrine  
*Testamento Político*

### People to Identify

Irigoyen  
Mitre  
Sarmiento  
Alberdi

Uriburu  
Castillo  
Rosas  
Rivadavia

Urquiza

### Learning through Discussion

1. Give at least two reasons why, in colonial times, the Argentine settlements were relatively backward.
2. Explain how it happened that the Argentine's first battles for independence were against England and France, rather than Spain.
3. What action did the Argentine Congress take in Tucumán on July 9, 1816?
4. In the history of Argentina why should the year 1853 be compared to 1789 in the history of the United States?
5. Why is the statue of Rivadavia in Buenos Aires inscribed to "The Greatest of Argentines"?
6. What two groups were loyal to Rosas? What domestic and foreign enemies did he have?
7. What was Rosas's principal contribution to Argentina?
8. Name one patriotic contribution made by Mitre in war and one in peace.
9. What were President Sarmiento's two most important policies? How did the United States influence one of them?
10. Explain the Drago Doctrine.
11. What was the economic effect of the first World War on Argentina? Do you know whether the second World War had similar effects?
12. Why is President Irigoyen called "a strange combination of radical and isolationist"?
13. In what ways was President Uriburu a dictator? Was he of the Latin-American or Fascist type of dictator? Give reasons for your answer.
14. Why were the liberal groups in Argentina and elsewhere disappointed when ill health caused President Ortiz to be replaced by Vice-President Castillo?
15. Name two cases in which Argentina has called upon the United States officials to help arbitrate her boundary disputes. Has Argentina usually settled such questions by force or by arbitration?
16. What important event in the relations of Chile and Argentina is commemorated by the statue of the Christ of the Andes?
17. What does Argentina mean by her foreign policy of "universality"?

18. In what ways has Argentina tended to dominate the Plata River region?
19. How has Argentina's policy of "buy from those who buy from you" seemed to affect her trade with Great Britain, the United States, and Germany?
20. Explain this statement about the United States and Argentina: "Their disagreements are due, not so much to their differences, as to their similarities."
21. How did the Falkland Islands cause trouble between Argentina and the United States?
22. In what ways is Argentina like most rich, young nations?

### Learning through Maps

1. On an outline map of Argentina draw in the boundaries of the provinces, naming them and locating the capitals. Note the latitude and longitude of Argentina's principal cities as compared with those of the United States.
2. Make a physical map of Argentina, showing mountain ranges, plateaus, principal rivers, valleys, desert regions.

### Projects and Problems

1. Imagine that you are visiting a large estancia in Argentina and write a letter telling of your visit.
2. Devote one class period to a discussion of the Gaucho and his place in Argentine history. Look up Gaucho literature, songs, and poems as part of the discussion.
3. Compare the farms of the United States with those of Argentina, as to size, crops, ownership, workers. Encyclopedias and other reference books in your library will give you this information.
4. Have a panel discussion on Argentina and Brazil. Compare and contrast these two great republics, which are national rivals in respect to economic, racial, military, and cultural matters. Following such an analysis show, if you can, how these rivalries might be turned to co-operative measures for the benefit of both republics.

## XIV. URUGUAY AND PARAGUAY

We now turn from the great republic of Argentina to consider her two small cousins, Uruguay and Paraguay. It is necessary to keep in mind an important fact in geography and one in history in order to understand these three countries. They are all bound together by the system of rivers called Río de la Plata, or the River Plate, to use a colloquial term adopted by the English. This "River of Silver" is really an arm of the Atlantic Ocean, which receives the combined waters of two great rivers, the Uruguay and the Paraná, plus three tributaries, of which the Paraguay River is the most important. This latter extends throughout the Republic of Paraguay, far into the interior of Brazil. Geographically, then, these three countries are well designated as the Río de la Plata republics. Historically, this fact was recognized in colonial days by all this great territory being politically united under the Viceroyalty of La Plata. In spite of the fact that Uruguay and Paraguay had declared their separate existence at the time the La Plata region broke away from Spain, it is natural that Argentina should continue to exercise a certain dominance in this immensely rich section of valleys and plains.

### URUGUAY

**Four Periods of Uruguayan History.** The history of the Republic of Uruguay may be divided into four sections. The first is the struggle for independence, which began in 1811 and closed with the recognition of Uruguay as an independent state by Argentina and Brazil in 1828. The second (1828-1870) was a period of anarchy and includes the many efforts of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, France, and England to control the destinies of this buffer state. The third period (1870-1903) was one of continued struggle between the two political parties, the *Blancos* ("whites") and *Colorados* ("reds") for power, with a continued state of revolution and counter-revolution. The fourth, the modern period, begins with the presidency of the greatest of all Uruguayan presidents—and one of the greatest men America has produced—José Batlle y Ordóñez. It marks the period of great social advance, when Uruguay, along with New Zealand, led the world in social government.

**José Gervasio Artigas.** The hero of Uruguayan independence is José Gervasio Artigas. A great monument stands in the center of Montevideo to commemorate his patriotism. The



revolution in the Banda Oriental, as Uruguay was then called, began in February, 1811, when Artigas, a captain in the Spanish army, joined the revolutionaries in Buenos Aires. From this time on until 1820 Artigas was recognized as the leader in the movement for independence in the Banda Oriental. Artigas was a rough warrior, not unlike the United States frontiersman, David Crockett. An Englishman who visited the army headquarters of Artigas described this "Protector of Free Peoples" as sitting on an ox skull before the camp fire with his Gaucho soldiers, eating an enormous beefsteak broiled over the fire.

Artigas at first co-operated with Buenos Aires in the struggle against the Spaniards. But when he found that this would mean the subjection of his people to Argentina, he turned against that country. Attacked on one side by Argentina and on the other by Brazil, he was driven finally to take refuge in Paraguay. Here he lived the simple life of a farmer under the protection of that country's great, mysterious dictator called "El Supremo." There he died on September 23, 1850. His remains were transferred six years later to the National Pantheon at Montevideo.

The greatness of Artigas consists in his deep devotion to democracy. Many of the *caudillos* (the chieftains of guerrilla forces) of that day fought bravely at the side of their men for freedom. But often they had no conception of the large significance of democratic government for all. Artigas was the kind of man who would be in the front of the battle whenever the cause of liberty was endangered.

Uruguay was formerly called Banda Oriental, a name meaning the "eastern side of the Plata." It has always been a buffer state between Portuguese Brazil and Spanish Argentina. Its rich plains, its delightful climate, and its strategic position commanding the approaches to much of eastern South America have made its control a much-desired objective of many nations. The latest to plan such a control were the Nazis. In 1940 a secret plan was unearthed by which they hoped to control both Argentina and Brazil by their storm troops then being organized in Uruguay. This plan was discovered and smashed by a people notable for their devotion to democracy.

Following the retirement of Artigas to Paraguay, Brazil occupied Uruguay. Its annexation to the Brazilian Empire was announced on May 9, 1824. But a group of Uruguayans, known as the "Immortal Thirty-three," crossed the river from Argentina and led a rebellion against Brazil. Argentina was drawn into the conflict on the side of Lavalleja, the Uruguayan leader. The Brazilians were defeated. They then agreed with Argentina that the Banda Oriental should be allowed to set up its own independent government. Thus, after seventeen years of war, the "República Oriental del Uruguay" came into existence in 1828.

**Period of Anarchy.** The *caudillos*, or local leaders, found it easy to start an armed movement against their opponents by appealing for aid to one of their powerful neighbors, either Argentina or Brazil. Dictator Rosas of Argentina continually interfered with Uruguayan affairs. Rosas fell

out with France and England, and these countries used their navies to dominate Montevideo from 1838 to 1851.

This long siege was known as the *Guerra Grande* and is famous in Uruguayan history. For a decade the national government had been disrupted. Schools were closed, and bandits infested the country regions. Disorders continued. In 1864 Brazil again sent an army into Uruguay to compel a better treatment of Brazilian citizens. This interference was resented by López II of Paraguay. Thus the long and destructive Paraguayan War was started over the question as to what outside forces should dominate Uruguay. In the war with Paraguay, Uruguay acted as an ally of Brazil and Argentina. She received no benefits from that five-years' struggle (1865-1870). After the Paraguayan War intervention by other countries in the affairs of Uruguay practically ceased. During most of this period there was no let up in the constant battles between the two factions, the Blancos and the Colorados. But in 1903 a remarkable man by the name of José Batlle y Ordóñez was elected president and started his country on a new epoch.

**The Era of Batlle.** Batlle was born in Montevideo, May 21, 1856. He was the son of Lorenzo Batlle, president of the republic from 1868 to 1872. He attended the law school of the university but left just before he was graduated. He then journeyed to Paris, where he gained new ideas about government. When he was thirty years of age, he founded the Montevideo daily, *El Día*. This paper, from the beginning of its publication,

was an intimate part of its director's life. He worked continually to establish new conceptions of government and his leadership was recognized when he was elected president of the republic in 1903.

The customary revolution was started by members of the opposition party. With surprising vigor Batlle overcame his enemies. He then granted them unusually liberal terms of surrender. This ended revolutions in Uruguay. The people were kept busy with the considerations of new social reforms which the president and his followers continually urged. Batlle encouraged free elections, and another socially minded member of the Colorado party, Dr. Claudio Williman, was chosen as Batlle's successor.

While Williman was building railroads, improving harbors, and initiating social legislation, Batlle went to Switzerland to study the problems of government. During his stay in that most democratic of European countries he developed a complete political and social creed. He noted that Switzerland confided its government to a group of men rather than to one individual. Meditating on the subject, he developed the idea of government through the collegiate system, that is, government by a group. But no kind of government, he believed, could succeed unless it accepted responsibilities for the happiness and prosperity of its citizens. Armed with these two ideas, Batlle returned to Uruguay. He was re-elected president in 1911 and startled the people by outlining his two revolutionary views in *El Día* on the very day of his triumph. His political opponents were

enraged. The president gathered around him a brilliant group of young men. Training them in his school of thought, he sent them to all parts of the country to explain to the people the doctrine of collegiate government and social legislature.

When Batlle retired from the presidency in 1915, the country was seething with discussions about these problems of government. Under the presidency of Dr. Feliciano Viera (1915-1919), a constitutional convention was called. It met in the national university in the fall of 1917. There followed one of the most brilliant discussions of political and social problems ever heard in South America.

The new constitution promulgated in 1919 did not contain all of Batlle's ideas. It provided, however, for several new conceptions of government, including the following: the president was invested with the command of the army and police force and was made the official representative of the nation in international affairs. Sharing the executive power with him, a national council of administration, composed of nine citizens, was to be elected by the people. It was charged with administering public instruction, the national budget, and newly organized corporations that should carry on business for the state. Church and state were separated. Foreigners residing in Uruguay were allowed Uruguayan citizenship without abandoning the citizenship of their native lands. A neutral electoral court was set up to determine all matters related to elections. The death penalty was abolished. Voting was by secret ballot with identification by photo-

graph and finger prints. The rights of labor, old-age pensions, and the protection and education of children were provided.

The first president to govern under the new constitution was a brilliant young friend of Batlle, Dr. Baltazar Brum. He was a man of tremendous energy. He spent much of his time with the Gauchos and farmers. Under him Uruguay enjoyed a democratic and socialized government, probably the best South America had ever known.

He was succeeded by José Serrato (1923-1927) and Juan Campisteguy (1927-1931). Elections were conducted fairly. The number of voters increased from 46,000 in 1905 to 318,000 in 1930. In 1928 a national meat-packing plant was established as a yardstick for meat prices. Two years later another government corporation was set up for the monopoly of alcohol. Road building was rapidly advanced under a national corporation that produced its own cement and made a record for efficiency without graft.

**The Common Man's Country.** "Our population may be divided into those who have received more than they deserve and those who have received less," said Batlle. But he went on to say that there is no reason for class hatred. "The real source of inequality," he declared, "is the difficulty of arriving at a just distribution." That it was the duty of the state to work out this just distribution was Batlle's profound conviction. His success was due to his ability to convey this conviction to a large number of young men who followed him with the utmost devotion.





*Photo by James Sawders*

The Gauchos are driving their cattle along the road to Montevideo, the largest port of Uruguay. There the cattle will be slaughtered in the great packing plants and shipped to many sections of the world.

"Every Uruguayan has a right to demand subsistence from the state," Batlle told the congress in 1916. The first social-security law passed, July 4, 1908, made the employer liable for all industrial accidents. The same law sought to improve working conditions in a number of ways. Workers on railways and in mines were protected by special decrees. The State Insurance Bank was established and began a campaign against accidents in 1914. A permanent disability brought compensation amounting to two thirds of the annual wage, and a temporary disability awarded half the annual wage received at the time of the accident. Old-age pensions were initiated in

1914. Thus, a quarter of a century before the United States began its social-security program, Uruguay started hers. Since those early days she has continued to improve legislation for the benefit of the poor man.

The other section of Uruguay's socialized government has to do with the public corporations. These are organized by the government to carry on certain business activities. They include the State Insurance Bank, the Electric Light and Power Monopoly, the National Packing House (*Frigorífico Nacional*), post, telegraph and telephone corporations, the Railways and Port Authority, and state banks. The municipality of Montevideo con-

ducts a number of hotels. These corporations are appointed as well as financed by the government for the sake of carrying on a certain business. They have the right to engage and to dismiss employees and to conduct their business according to their best judgment. The idea behind these corporations is that they will give better service to the public than will private organizations, especially since most of the latter are conducted by foreigners. While congress is permitted to express general opinions on broad principles, the corporation is kept free from political influence and is encouraged to conduct itself on business principles.

Two main objections have been raised to the socialized practices in Uruguay. One is that it is not fair to foreign capital; the other is that it is too expensive. When the depression hit Uruguay in the early 1930's, there was much complaint about the high taxes necessary to sustain the inclusive social-security program. When congress refused to accept the recommendation of President Gabriel Terra for certain changes, the president reverted to the old habit of organizing a strong-arm government. He dismissed the congress and conducted affairs by decree.

A constitutional assembly was called in 1934. The collegiate system, which divided the executive power between the presidency and the administrative council, was eliminated. In its stead there was provided a council of ministers of nine members appointed by the president. These must be selected from the two parties polling the largest number of votes in the presidential elections and three of them must be from the minority party. The social

conceptions of Batlle were conserved; his main ideas were retained. The constitution provided for the establishment of industrial corporations owned by the state, social insurance, regulation of labor conditions, woman suffrage, and obligatory primary education. Provision was made for the complete care of children in matters of education, health, and social welfare. This fine document also states that all treaties signed by the nation must provide for the settlement by arbitration or other peaceful means of all disputes with other nations.

When Terra finished his term, he was succeeded, after a fair election, by General Alfredo Baldomir. Aided by his distinguished minister of foreign affairs, Dr. Guani, he steered the ship of state during the early days of the second World War along currents favorable to democracy and friendship with the United States.

**Economic Life.** Uruguay, which is the smallest of the South American republics, has a population of a little over two millions, one third of which lives in Montevideo, the capital. The rural population is engaged in stock raising and to a lesser extent in agriculture. The people are almost wholly of European descent, and the standards of living are very high. Stock raising has always been the principal industry, and Uruguay is now second only to Argentina in meat exports. Since the first meat-packing plant, or *frigorífico*, was built in 1905, meat exports have increased very rapidly. Wool, too, has become an important article of export trade, and is today the largest single product of commercial export. Only a small proportion of the land is planted in crops.



## CATTLE AND SHEEP PER INHABITANT



Each symbol represents 1 animal per inhabitant

*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

Cereals, flax, and linseed are raised, but flax is the only article that is regularly exported.

**International Relations.** Uruguay today is to South America much of what Switzerland has been to Europe, the center of international thought. President Baltazar Brum sent to the Fifth Pan-American Conference in 1923 a carefully developed plan for an American League of Nations. Unfortunately this plan did not receive the attention it deserved. This same statesman, while secretary of foreign affairs during the first World War, proposed that no American nation should consider another nation of this continent as a belligerent if it was at war with an extra-continental country in the defense of its sovereignty. That meant that the American countries that were at war with Germany would be allowed to use all American harbors for their battleships and receive other advantages not allowed to belligerents. Uruguay made this same proposal at the opening of the second World War and secured its adoption

by other members of the American group. Montevideo is the home of many international organizations and the meeting place of many conferences. Its citizenship follows international affairs with deep interest. Its delegations to conferences always take an important part in the development of international co-operation.

Uruguay has plenty of problems awaiting solution. But no country is more open to modern thought; none more interested in the average citizen; none more devoted to the principles of democracy and international co-operation. Her history of seventy-five years of constant revolution followed by forty years of social and political advancement shows how effective democracy can be when it sets out seriously to solve economic and social questions as well as political ones.

## PARAGUAY

With the exception of its next-door neighbor, Uruguay, Paraguay is the smallest country in South America. It lies in the very heart of the continent.



This may mean that some day it may be as important to the Southern continent as Iowa and Kansas are to the Northern continent. But today, of all the South American republics, it counts the smallest number of inhabitants, the least industrialization, the smallest amount of foreign trade, and the smallest program for educating its people. On the other hand, no country in America has had such a romantic history as Paraguay. As a Spanish colony it was the seat of the remarkable Jesuit empire. Following its independence it was governed by two distinctive characters. The first was Dr. Rodríguez Francia, the absolute ruler aptly called "El Supremo" (the Supreme One), who was Paraguay's first president. The other was the dictator López II, who withstood the combined might of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay for five long years. The good and the bad points of both of these men have occupied the attention of numerous historians, romancers, and poets.

In colonial days the regions now known as Paraguay and Uruguay and the southern section of present-day Bolivia were all parts of the viceroyalty of La Plata. When the movement for independence began in the Río de la Plata, the Paraguayan leaders made an agreement with Buenos Aires to regulate commerce between the two sections, but did not clarify the political relations between the two divisions. For a number of years the status of the new state of Paraguay remained uncertain. The independence of Paraguay, declared in 1811, was never challenged by Spain.

**El Supremo.** Dr. Gaspar Rodríguez Francia assumed the leadership of

the new government. As a youth he had studied theology in the University of Córdoba. He was almost the only native Paraguayan of his time who had university training. Added to this distinction, he showed a constant interest in the underprivileged. He was one of the very few in this backward land who had any conception of the science of politics. Starting as a member of a local junta (government committee) of five, he soon secured the control of the army. By 1816 he was able to have himself declared dictator for life. He was capable, capricious, and cruel. He gave to himself the position of chief executive, chief judge, chief lawmaker, and made himself head of the church as well. His tyrannical methods won for him the title of "El Supremo." When he appeared on the streets, his loyal subjects were supposed to turn their faces to the walls so that they would not appear too intimate with their ruler. He was as highhanded with foreigners as he was with his own subjects. When the distinguished French scientist, Aimé Bonpland, entered Paraguay to carry on botanical studies, the dictator arrested him, refusing to allow him to leave the country, and held him prisoner in a small Paraguayan village for nine years. A letter from Bolívar asking for the scientist's release was treated with the same disdain as was an invitation from the Liberator to send a delegate to the International Conference at Panama. At one time Bolívar considered making war on Francia to compel him to treat foreigners and neighbors better.

El Supremo regarded the Spaniards in Paraguay as the Tories were re-

garded in the United States following the Revolutionary War. He befriended the Guaraní Indians, although he did little to better their lot permanently. The ecclesiastical authorities, as allies of Spain, were humiliated and deprived of their positions. Under Francia's rule, Paraguay achieved a certain amount of prosperity. Its people were at least able to feel a certain pride in their independence of other nations and in the grandeur of El Supremo, who acknowledged no equal in all South America. Since during Francia's rule the outside world was not allowed to sell goods in Paraguay, the people learned to manufacture their own furniture, leather goods, cloth, and other articles. But so thoroughly was the country cut off from the outside world that little is known about what occurred during the three decades of the dictator's rule. The powerful Francia, who was honored with a notable tribute by Thomas Carlyle, died September 20, 1840.

**López I and López II.** Francia left no instructions concerning a successor. One soon appeared in the person of a self-made lawyer who ascended to power by much the same methods that Francia had employed. Carlos A. López succeeded in having himself chosen as one of two ruling consuls (chief magistrates). It was not long before he was able to take over complete power, and on March 14, 1844, Congress approved a new constitution and acclaimed López president. For the first time a number of great nations acknowledged Paraguay's independence. In this connection the United States sent to the country a promoter by the name of Edward A.

Hopkins. For some forty years this blundering exploiter continued to promote all kinds of commercial schemes in the Río de la Plata and involved his government in many diplomatic controversies with Paraguay and Argentina. The complicated relations between Paraguay and her neighbors, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, occupied most of the time of Carlos López. He increased foreign trade, established regular steamship service with Buenos Aires, and advanced agriculture. He died on September 10, 1862.

His son, Francisco Solano López, succeeded to the presidency. This young man had been sent to Europe for his education. In Paris he lived a Bohemian life and developed a great admiration for Napoleon III. He was vain, arrogant, devoid of all scruples, and ferociously cruel.

**The Paraguayan War.** López II began his rule with an ambition to make Paraguay the dominant force in eastern South America. It was not difficult for him to find proof that his neighbors, Brazil and Argentina, had designs on his territory. He decided to develop an overpowering military machine, arguing the justice of this program from patriotic reasons. By 1864 his army was the best trained, and his navy, on the Paraguay River, was the most formidable in South America. Brazil gave López a chance to show his importance when that empire announced a coming military expedition against Uruguay on account of her ill-treatment of Brazilians. López challenged Brazil's action and dispatched an expedition up the Paraguay River to attack the interior province of Matto Grosso. When



Argentina refused to grant the Paraguayan army permission to move across the province of Corrientes in order to attack the southern Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, López did not hesitate to declare war on Argentina. Uruguay, bordering on all three countries, could not help being drawn into the struggle.

The three nations united in a secret treaty, May 1, 1865, to make war on Paraguay until she should be completely defeated. General Mitre, president of Argentina, was elected commander in chief of the united armies. He promised a short war. A popular ditty ran, "Twenty-four hours in the barracks, three weeks in the field, three months in Asunción." But the war lasted five years. The allies were cursed by jealousies and by disease. López, as a complete dictator, moved his troops quickly with marvelous strategy and was able to depend on the remarkable loyalty of his Indian followers. Not until January, 1869, did the allies occupy Asunción. Even then López refused to surrender. He was finally overtaken by Brazilian soldiers in the tropical jungles of northeastern Paraguay. Fighting to the last, with all support gone, he was run through by the sword of a Brazilian private. The five years of unequal struggle were finally ended.

**The Hard Road to Reconstruction.** Paraguay was in ruins. Out of a population numbering about half a million at the beginning of the war the census figures of 1871 placed the population at 221,079, of which 28,746 were boys and old men. Paraguay lost some 55,000 square miles of territory to Argentina and Brazil. Not until six years after the death of López did

the last allied soldier leave Paraguay. The allies, as well as Paraguay, were saddled with immense debts. Controversies concerning territory were continued for some time. Two of these were settled by arbitration conducted by President Hayes and by President Cleveland of the United States.

Paraguay slowly began to climb back to normal life. A constitution similar to that of the United States was adopted. But that did not prevent the occurrence of revolution after revolution. The shock of the first World War seemed to awaken the Paraguayan people as it did the rest of South America. Railroad and steamship connections with Argentina were improved; industrialism was encouraged. Foreign colonies were invited to the country. Business relations with the United States were enlarged. By 1930 Paraguay had just about climbed back to the position she had occupied in 1860. Again she could count a million population. Again she could count on promising signs of a prosperous economic life. But war again plunged her people into suffering and despair.

**The Chaco War.** The boundary dispute with Bolivia concerning the Chaco, a wild and almost uninhabited region of more than 100,000 square miles west of the Paraguay River, had disturbed the two countries ever since they had secured their independence. As the only two countries of South America that do not touch the ocean, they are always striving for an outlet to the sea. When petroleum was discovered in the Chaco, Bolivia began to plan to secure such an outlet through the Chaco region down the





*Photo from Keystone View Co.*

The leaves of the *yerba mate*, a kind of holly, are much used as a beverage by South Americans. The drink is often called "Paraguyan tea" because of its popularity in that country.

Paraguay River to Buenos Aires. Paraguay naturally resisted this advance. From encounters between advance guards of the two armies the size of the battles grew until war was formally declared in 1932. The Paraguayan army gradually drove across the Chaco until it reached Bolivian territory. After numerous failures by the League of Nations and the Pan-American group to adjust the quarrel, five neighboring countries and the United States secured an armistice in 1935. Paraguay was awarded most of the Chaco. Bolivia, however, was given a port on the Paraguay River. The two countries then signed several

treaties providing for commercial and economic co-operation.

Again Paraguay was left with the evils which follow a long war. She had an oversized army and a military government, an immense debt, and a disorganized economic and cultural life. In 1939 the best of the military leaders, General José Felix Estigarribia, was elected president. A reform program was inaugurated. A few months afterward the president was killed in an airplane accident. He was succeeded through military action by General Higinio Morínigo, who proceeded to rule with an iron hand.

Paraguay broke relations with the

Axis Powers following the attack on Pearl Harbor.

**Economic Developments.** With only 1,000,000 inhabitants, Paraguay is the least populous of the South American republics. It is still an isolated and backward country. Only a small part of its rich territory is under cultivation, and its exports, consisting of meat products, *yerba mate*, cotton, and quebracho extract, amount to less than nine dollars per capita. As a result, the standards of living are low,

especially among the Indians and mestizos, who make up a large proportion of the population.

Recently the United States Government, acting under the lend-lease agreement, sent a number of industrial and public-health engineers to aid the country in its development. The aid thus offered to Paraguay in solving two of her greatest problems, the building up of the industries of the nation and the health of its citizens, brought new hope to the country.

### Words and Terms to Learn

Blancos  
Colorados  
Guaraní Indians

River of Silver  
Immortal Thirty-three  
social-security programs

### People to Identify

Batlle y Ordóñez  
El Supremo  
Estigarribia

Artigas  
Williman  
López II

### Learning through Discussion

1. In what two important ways are Uruguay and Paraguay linked to Argentina?
2. Why is Artigas regarded as a national hero of Uruguay?
3. Describe the steps by which Batlle y Ordóñez rose to be president of Uruguay.
4. Explain this statement: "A quarter of a century before the United States began its social-security program, Uruguay started hers."
5. Explain the system of public corporations in Uruguay. Can you point to any such corporations in the United States?
6. What policy did Uruguay follow in the first World War and in the second World War?
7. Why was Dr. Francia called "El Supremo"?
8. Was López II a typical dictator of South America? Give reasons for your answer.
9. What were the causes of the Chaco War? When and how was this war settled?
10. Name two of the most important problems of Paraguay today. What is being done to solve these problems?



### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. On an outline map indicate the boundaries of Uruguay (in red crayon) and of Paraguay (in blue). Locate Montevideo, Asunción, and the Paraguay, Paraná, and Pilcomayo rivers.

2. Look up the products of Uruguay and Paraguay and make a chart which will show this information.

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a sketch, or a cartoon, of one of the following:

(a) Artigas sitting on an ox skull among his Gaucho followers

(b) El Supremo making one of his state appearances on the streets of Asunción

2. Give an oral report on President Baltazar Brum's plan for an American League of Nations.

3. Debate the question: *Resolved* that the United States Should Pattern Its Social Legislation after the Social Program of Uruguay.



## XV. CHILE, BOLIVIA, AND PERU

Having studied life in the Portuguese republic of Brazil and the three Spanish republics of the Plata region, we are ready to cross the Andes and meet the people of the West. They differ considerably from those of the Atlantic Coast—just as one finds the people of California differing from those in New York. During colonial days Peru dominated the whole of the west coast. After independence Chile took the lead. Bolivia, bordering on both of these republics, has had secret and open alliances from time to time with each of the other two. The life of all three countries is closely related, and their history should be considered together.

### CHILE

Chile has had the most even history of any Latin-American country. It was settled by a high type of Spaniard who did not engage in the factional fights carried on by Pizarro and his successors in Peru. The Araucanian Indians of Chile were the most virile in South America. They long resisted the Spanish colonists. A mixture of the best Spanish and Indian blood gave the Chileans the basis for a strong race. Chile has been blessed by a number of outstanding citizens who have served well their own land and all America.

The history of the Chilean republic may be divided into four sections. The first division (1811–1833) represents the struggle for independence from Spain and the first efforts to organize the republic. Two important characters dominate this period, General Bernardo O'Higgins, leader in the fight for independence, and Diego Portales, the business organizer of stable government. The second division (1833–1891) represents the period of development under autocratic presidents. Two great men in this half century of growth were President Manuel Montt and President José Manuel Balmaceda. The third period (1891–1920) was marked by the dominance of congress in government. No especially outstanding men appeared. The fourth period began in 1920 with the election of President Arturo Alessandri, continued through a period of great confusion, and ushered in the Popular Front under President Pedro Aguirre Cerda in 1938.

**Bernardo O'Higgins.** The first step in the revolution in Chile was taken on September 18, 1810. Many patriots assisted in the long fight to oust the Spaniards. The greatest of these was Bernardo O'Higgins. He was the son of a wealthy Irishman who had settled in Santiago. Young Bernardo was sent

to Europe for his education. When he was twenty-one, he visited England and joined the celebrated Francisco Miranda, who headed a secret movement in London to free the Spanish colonies. Here he met Bolívar and San Martín as well as other patriots. On returning to Chile, he became a leader in the revolutionary army and was soon hailed as the first soldier of Chile. After several years of fighting he joined San Martín in Argentina. They worked together to equip the army that made the daring march across the Andes. On arriving in Chile, O'Higgins was permitted by San Martín to lead the charge against the loyalists at Chacabuco (1817). Following that battle O'Higgins was placed at the head of the Chilean government. He sought to strengthen the outlying districts, to encourage international trade, and to suppress banditry. In his efforts to develop public education, he invited a representative of the Lancastrian schools of England to work in Chile. He advocated free libraries, built roads, and increased the water supply. He was accused of dictatorship by those who did not like his reforms. To save further bloodshed he resigned in 1823, and retired to Peru. There he lived surrounded by his friends until his death in 1842. Chile went into mourning for him and brought his remains to Santiago, where a magnificent monument was erected in his honor. With the resignation of O'Higgins the country was thrown into confusion. Order was brought about by the strong will of one of Chile's well-known leaders, Diego Portales. Don Diego was a businessman who had loaned money to the government.

Democracy might be all right for advanced nations like the United States, thought this practical, close-fisted merchant, but Chile was poverty-stricken and illiterate. It needed a strong, centralized government with rulers who would be models of virtue for its citizens to imitate.

Portales at first refused to accept public office himself but used his great power to direct affairs through others. Later, under President Joaquín Prieto (1831-1841), he became minister of war. Portales was jealous of a proposed union between Peru and Bolivia and sent troops to break it up. The war was unpopular. He was murdered by his own mutinous troops in an uprising near Valparaíso on June 6, 1837. This produced a reaction, and the rigid constitution suggested by Portales in 1833 was strengthened. This document established the Catholic Church as the official religion, prohibiting any other, and provided for a highly centralized government. It remained in force until 1925, the longest life of any constitution in a Latin-American country. Under it the conservative assured themselves continuance in power.

**The Rule of the Aristocrats (1831-1891).** Few countries in history have had the record of continuous government made by Chile from 1831 to 1891. During the period of 1831-1871 four presidents ruled, each for ten years' time. Other presidents followed in unbroken periods of five years until 1891. General Manuel Bulnes, who defeated the united armies of Peru and Bolivia in 1839 and put an end to the confederation planned by those two countries, was elected president of

Chile in 1841. He developed Valparaíso as a port and encouraged agriculture. William Wheelwright, of the United States, promoted numerous commercial enterprises in Chile at this time. These included the first regular steamship line from Europe to Chile in 1840 and the republic's first railroad in 1851. The minister of education in Bulnes's presidency was Manuel Montt. He encouraged Andrés Bello, the great Venezuelan educator, to organize the University of Chile, which was opened in 1843. Montt also welcomed Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, an exile from Argentina who was later to become president of his country.

Montt served as president of the republic from 1851 to 1861. He continued his interest in education and opened over four hundred new government schools. With the organization of the university and a normal school, Chile became greatly interested in extending secondary education to all the people.

### **The War of the Pacific (1879-1883).**

While Chile had been enjoying order and progress, her neighbors Peru and Bolivia had suffered from continuous political upheavals. The rich nitrate region belonging to Bolivia and Peru had been a matter of controversy. The nitrate industry is an important one because of the use of nitrate as a fertilizer. Chilean companies had worked the nitrate fields under certain difficulties. Bolivia and Peru had imposed high taxes. The boundaries between the three countries were not clearly defined, and there were continuous quarrels. In 1873 Peru and Bolivia entered into a secret alliance. As a result Chile considered her

grievances sufficient to declare war against Peru and Bolivia in 1879. Chile's army and navy were well trained. She soon overcame Bolivia, and that country retired from the conflict. The war against Peru lasted much longer. Although the United States attempted to make peace between the belligerents, Chile refused the offer, and her triumphant army occupied the capital city of Lima. The Treaty of Ancón in 1883 acknowledged the victory of Chile and increased the country's territory by more than one third, including two rich nitrate provinces. The Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica were to remain under the government of Chile for ten years. A vote by the people (called a plebescite) was then to be taken in order to decide which country would govern them. But the plebescite was never taken. These provinces continued to be a bone of contention between Peru and Chile until in 1929, when, through the mediation of the United States, it was agreed that Tacna should go to Peru and Arica to Chile. The War of the Pacific greatly enriched Chile and made it one of the most powerful of South American republics. Bolivia lost all of her territory on the Pacific and became a landlocked country.

An exceptionally brilliant president, José Manuel Balmaceda, was elected in 1886. With the riches and the imperialistic ideas of his victorious nation he undertook a vast program of public works. He built schools of all kinds throughout the country. He constructed railroads, improved the naval base at Talcahuano, and erected palaces for the better administration of government. He encouraged



immigration, kept up the interest on the foreign debt, and bought new ships. He was the master builder, whose name is connected with many schools, hospitals, and prisons that are used today. He also introduced new ideals into politics. He endeavored to unite all liberals in one party. He worked to insure the independence of the judicial department and the municipal authorities from the dictation of the president and to educate the army along democratic lines.

**Civil War (1890-1891).** Could Balmaceda, with all his energy and ideals, carry out so many new ideas? Soon the parliament, always especially insistent on its powers, began to rebel. It forced the president to accept ministers that he did not want. He finally refused to obey and began to rule without congress. The inevitable military conflict broke out in 1890. During eight months the fighting was terrific. When the powerful Chilean navy revolted in favor of the congressional party, the president realized that all was lost. A governing junta, or council, was appointed in 1891, and Balmaceda took refuge in the Argentine Embassy in Santiago. He wrote a noble political testament, dressed himself immaculately in formal clothes, lay down on his bed, and, pulling the trigger of his revolver, ended his life. Thus, with Balmaceda's defeat, conservative forces had once more been able to block reform. One of Chile's greatest leaders had gone down in defeat. But he had made a name that Chileans will never forget.

**Government Dominated by Congress (1891-1920).** With the death of Balmaceda there also passed an era—

the day of the all-powerful executive. Henceforth congress, composed of powerful landowners and vascillating politicians, controlled government. Efficiency was eliminated without giving the masses any more influence in government. Cabinets were upset on the least excuse. Only the phenomenal prosperity of the republic, due largely to the new nitrate industry, kept the political machinery from breaking down. It did not prevent great dissatisfaction among the workers, sanguinary strikes, and much suffering among city and country laborers. Dissatisfaction became strong enough by 1920 to register itself in the election of a reform president, Arturo Alessandri.

**Reform, Chaos, and a New Deal.** "The Lion of Tarapacá" was the name given to the new president, Arturo Alessandri. As senator from the northern province of Tarapacá he had fought the intrenched aristocrats at Santiago and proposed new labor legislation. Once in the presidency he moved bravely to carry out his promises to labor. But he found opposition heavy and reforms difficult. When in 1924 the senate conservatives, on the one hand, and the army officers, on the other, made a drive on him, he attempted to resign. Recalled, he led in writing a new constitution in 1925. This took the place of the document drawn up by Portales in 1833. The new constitution provided for the separation of church and state, made property subject to the social good, made primary education compulsory, and made the cabinet answerable to the executive and not to congress.

In spite of the progressive measures indicated in the new constitution,

Alessandri found himself surrounded by opposition. Labor demanded quick relief from starvation wages, nationalists demanded the curbing of the big United States business interests, the army demanded a raise in pay, and congress demanded the protection of the privileged class. In October, 1925, the "Lion of Tarapacá" was forced out of office. His minister of war, Colonel Carlos Ibáñez, assumed the presidency on July 21, 1927. He ruled with an iron hand until he was forced to resign and seek refuge in Argentina, July 26, 1931.

Ibáñez was one of the Latin-American dictators who was caught in the Wall Street crash of 1929. In the 1920's bankers in the United States turned their attention to making loans to Latin-American governments. Dictators like Ibáñez in Chile, Leguía in Peru, and Siles in Bolivia borrowed immense sums and pledged as security much of the natural wealth. With this money they made certain public improvements, beautified their capitals, and enriched their friends. When the Wall Street crash prevented their borrowing more money, their friends and their armies deserted them, and they were expelled from office. Ibáñez was the greatest of these borrowers. The investments of the United States in Chile, which amounted to \$15,000,000 in 1915, had grown to \$659,000,000 in 1929. However, Dictator Ibáñez did attempt to carry through some of the social reforms begun by Alessandri. He established a large number of primary schools and advanced social security. A vast program of public works was put under way to relieve unemploy-

ment. But the economic situation steadily became worse. Financial ruin brought on rioting and revolutionary plots everywhere. The university students first, then the teachers and lawyers, then the doctors, and finally the labor unions went on strike.

During the next year chaos reigned, with a change in government occurring every few weeks. But a strong country like Chile would not stand such disorder. The old "Lion of Tarapacá" was brought back from his exile in Paris and again took the presidential seat, in December, 1932. Alessandri restored order and ruled with a stronger hand than in his first administration.

**The "Popular Front."** The liberal elements decided that they must combine if they were to secure the needed social reforms. For the first time practically all of the numerous small liberal groups came together in the "Popular Front." They nominated and elected an old leader of the radical party, a former collaborator of Alessandri, Don Pedro Aguirre Cerda. His program was somewhat similar to the New Deal in the United States. A former teacher, Don Pedro had a motto that "to govern is to educate." Before the new president could start his program, a terrific earthquake destroyed much of the south-central part of the country, killing some 50,000 people. Don Pedro threw himself into the reconstruction work and then started to aid the poor. He ordered the pawnshops to return to their owners the sewing machines which had been pawned in order to buy necessities. He reduced the price of bread. He increased the amount of free health service to the people. He



opened the country to 5,000 refugees from Republican Spain, who had been expelled by Dictator Francisco Franco. Numerous progressive social measures were inaugurated. The conservative landed aristocracy and the Nazi sympathizers held a majority in the senate and vigorously opposed any reforms. Overcome by his many burdens, President Aguirre Cerda died on November 25, 1941.

Special elections were held in March, 1942. Within a month Juan Antonio Ríos was inaugurated as the new chief executive. Belonging to the same radical party as Aguirre Cerda, he promised to carry forward the social program of the Popular Front.

**International Relations.** Chile has had many problems with other nations. These have included two wars with Peru, a war with Bolivia, a war with Spain, and serious disputes with Argentina and the United States. Her national motto is, "By reason or by force." She has maintained the strongest army and navy on the west coast of South America and has not hesitated to assert her dominance in that area.

Relations with her neighbor Peru were disturbed immediately following independence. For many years the ports of Valparaíso and Callao were great rivals. Political exiles from Peru used Chile as a base for organizing revolutions against their political opponents. Chilean exiles, on the other hand, stirred up the same kind of trouble in Peru. When President Santa Cruz of Bolivia initiated a federation with Peru, many rival elements were set against each other. The strong man of Chile, Portales, was easily persuaded by a Peruvian exile

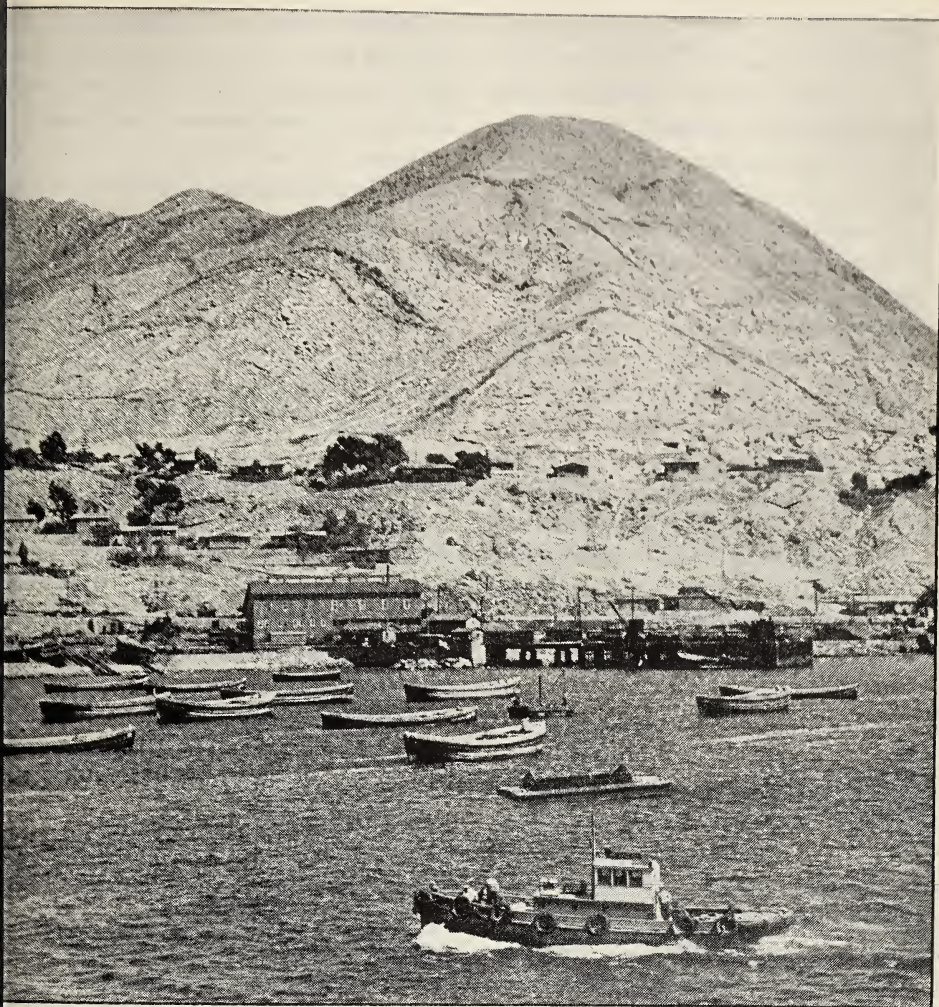
to send an army to Peru to attack the federation forces. Rosas of Argentina agreed with Portales that the federation of Bolivia and Peru would make too strong a neighbor, and sent troops against Bolivia. Thus was prevented a union which might not only have saved these four countries from many battles but also would have been beneficial to all South America.

The next war was with the mother country, Spain. In this conflict Chile appeared as the defender of Peru. Spain sent a fleet to Peru in 1864, demanded the payment of doubtful financial claims of her citizens, and seized the Chinca Islands off the coast of Peru. Chile protested the action. Spain retaliated by sending her fleet to Valparaíso to bombard that unfortified city, killing many people and destroying \$10,000,000 worth of property.

From the beginning of her independence Chile has had constant quarrels with Bolivia. The latter country possessed the rich nitrate province of Antofagasta bordering on the Pacific. Peru held Tarapacá, the province just north, which is also rich in nitrate. The two countries, less organized than Chile, made a secret alliance to protect themselves from the aggressive acts of the Chilean nitrate companies backed by Chilean arms. When Bolivia imposed higher taxes on the Chilean companies, Chile occupied Antofagasta and started the War of the Pacific. As we have already learned, the war ended in 1883 with Chile completely victorious.

Chile has had several serious quarrels with the United States. This country made various efforts to intervene in the War of the Pacific and to





*Photo by James Sawders*

The harbor of Villarica, Chile, is the shipping port for the copper mines of this district. Copper is the leading commercial export of Chile.

persuade Chile not to demand additional territory. Such intervention was resented by Chile. Unwise actions by the United States minister in Chile also increased the tension between the two countries. In 1891, when ill feeling was at its height, the U.S.S. *Baltimore* unwisely chose to put in at the port of Valparaíso. A landing party had a fight with Chileans in one of the lower class districts of the

city. Two American sailors were killed. This incident along with others almost led to war between the two countries. Chile finally paid an indemnity of \$75,000 to the families of the slain sailors, but considerable bitterness between the two countries remained. These ill feelings were augmented by the attitude of North American business enterprises in Chile. During the administration

of President Taft, the United States Government brought so much pressure for the repayment of a loan made by the wealthy Alsop family that a certain cartoon became very popular. It represented a big, elegantly dressed man looking down at a poor boy and saying, "My boy, get rich; honestly if you can; but anyway, get rich."

Boundary questions have caused many dissensions between Chile and Argentina. The famous statue, the Christ of the Andes, commemorates the settlement of the principal boundary question. The boundary line in Patagonia was finally defined by arbitration in 1902. Tariffs have also caused disputes with neighboring republics.

Chile has sent delegates to all Pan-American conferences. She has been a faithful member of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office. The Chilean Commission on Intellectual Exchange has led in inter-American cultural activities. While Chile is friendly toward Europe, she is thoroughly American.

#### **Economic and Social Development.**

Sometimes called "the shoestring republic," Chile stretches for 2,600 miles from the subtropics to the subarctic tip of South America. At no place is the country more than 221 miles wide. The population of Chile is centered in one region, a narrow strip of land between high mountains and the sea. It is a mestizo country, of which only 5 per cent are pure-blooded Indians; 20 to 30 per cent are of white ancestry. The remainder is a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. In spite of the relatively high density of population in the Central Valley region, large estates have persisted to the present time. For many

years the story of nitrates was the story of Chile. When the nitrate market was good, Chile was prosperous. After the development of chemical nitrates, causing a slump in the market, Chile turned to the development of other industries. Copper mining and coal mining are today major sources of wealth. Agriculture is also an important industry. More than 75 per cent of Chile's people are literate. Chile has long been an international leader in social legislation.

#### **BOLIVIA**

Bolivia, like Paraguay, is a land without a seacoast. Like Ecuador, it lies between two stronger countries and has never developed a vigorous independent life. Bolivia sprang full born from the brain of the great Bolívar. Part of its territory was taken from Peru, and part from Argentina. By decree the Liberator formed the new republic, gave it a model constitution, and became its inspiration. When pressing duties called him back to Peru and Colombia, he bestowed the presidency on his favorite general, Antonio J. Sucre, in 1826. Sucre was soon succeeded by General Andrés Santa Cruz.

**Santa Cruz and Federation.** For twenty years Santa Cruz, a great *caudillo*, a leader after the style of Napoleon, ruled the new so-called republic. To carry out his ambition to unite Bolivia and Peru, he organized masonic lodges in both countries. He was a crafty organizer of military and civil forces. His ambitious plans included the union of three states, Northern Peru, Southern Peru, and Bolivia, each with its own capital and president, and all under a ruler



called the "new Inca." It is easily understood why Chile and Argentina objected to the development of such a strong neighbor and sent Santa Cruz to Paris as an exile. He became a friend of Napoleon III and died in the French capital in 1865.

**Period of Anarchy (1839-1880).** No other Bolivian president equaled Santa Cruz in reputation or in the extensive plans which he devised. His immediate successor, Don José Ballivián, was a cultured gentleman. By the new constitution of 1839, he was given large powers and started out to establish a well-organized government. But the lack of tradition, the small number of educated people, and the enormous Indian population with no preparation for government brought failure. The nation started in its long career of revolutions. There was no educated aristocracy strong enough to hold in check the petty military chiefs that one after another seized the government.

In the 1850's General Belzu, an ignorant tyrant, became disgusted with the protests of the diplomats of foreign countries whose citizens were cruelly treated. He abused the diplomats and finally bundled them up and expelled them from the country. As a result the Foreign Office of Great Britain erased Bolivia from the map, and for many years that country did not appear in British documents. The partition of Bolivia was seriously discussed in Peru and Chile.

The climax of this violent and tragic period of Bolivia's history was reached in the dictatorship of Mariano Melgarejo, who ruled from 1864 to 1871. He was the Nero of Bolivia, capable of every cruelty suggested by

a demented imagination. He sold the communal lands belonging to the Indians and made degrading boundary treaties with Chile and Brazil. In his book, *Sick People*, the Bolivian historian, Alcides Argüedas, sums up the period of anarchy in the statement that "from 1825 to 1898 there were more than sixty revolutions, a series of international wars, and six presidents were assassinated."

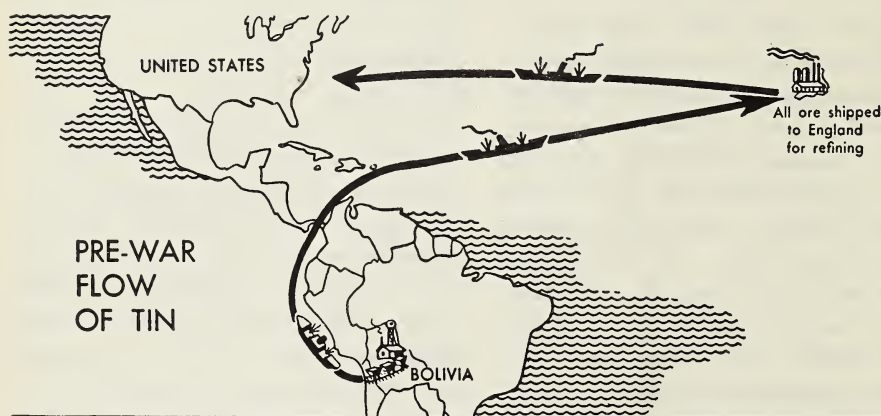
**War with Chile.** It is no wonder that the well-trained Chilean army was able to conquer Bolivia in the first few months of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883). As a result the Bolivians lost their rich nitrate province Tarapacá, and their approach to the sea. This seemed to sober the Bolivians. In 1880 they deposed President Daza, who had foolishly followed Peruvian advice and become involved in war with the powerful Chileans. General Narcisco Campero succeeded Daza, introduced a new constitution in 1880, and made other efforts to bring order out of chaos. He signed a truce with Chile and re-opened commercial relations with that country. A permanent peace settlement between the two countries was attempted by President Arce in 1901. He asked Argentina to plead Bolivia's cause, since Argentina and Chile were at odds over their boundaries. In 1895 Chile agreed, under pressure, to grant Bolivia a strip of land on the Pacific. This treaty was not carried out. In 1904 the final settlement was effected, including the following: Chile agreed to build a railroad from the Pacific port of Arica to La Paz, the mountain capital of Bolivia, and to build port facilities for Bolivia at Arica. These were to become the property of Bo-



livia fifteen years after their completion. Chile assumed the claims of her nationals against Bolivia and paid £300,000 sterling to Bolivia. The railroad was completed in 1912 and today forms Bolivia's most important connection with the Pacific.

**The Chaco War (1932-1938).** From the day that Bolivia signed away her rights to all territory on the Pacific, she hoped to get it back. When, in 1929, Chile and Peru settled the Tacna and Arica dispute by each taking one

cessor, Hernando Siles, borrowed large sums of money from United States and British firms for armaments. General Kundt assured the Bolivians that they could cross the swamps of the Chaco, defeat the Paraguayan army, and capture Asunción in a few weeks. But the Aymará Indian soldiers, coming from the high altitudes of Bolivia, were no match for the Paraguayan recruits, who were accustomed to the heat and the marshes of the Chaco. When General Kundt's plans



*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

of the provinces, Bolivia was once again left out in the cold. It was then that she definitely decided to force her way through the Chaco, secure the west bank of the Paraguay River, and send her trade down that river to Buenos Aires and the Atlantic.

Following the settlement with Chile the habit of revolution had continued in Bolivia. The army was turned over to a German military mission to prepare it for the day when it would strike for an ocean port. The last and most important of the German officers was General Hans Kundt. While he drilled the army in the 1920's, President Bautista Saavedra and his suc-

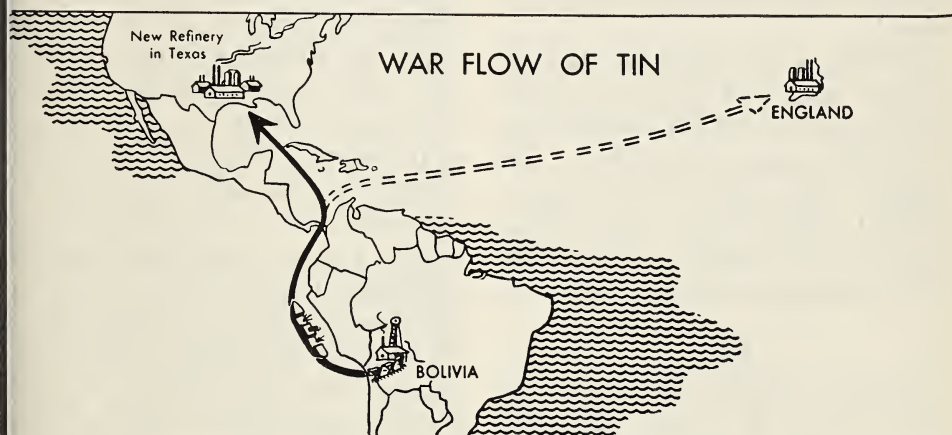
cessor, Hernando Siles, borrowed large sums of money from United States and British firms for armaments. General Kundt assured the Bolivians that they could cross the swamps of the Chaco, defeat the Paraguayan army, and capture Asunción in a few weeks.

**Efforts toward Reconstruction.** The Chaco War was another tragedy for Bolivia. Demobilized soldiers and students formed a new radical party. The chief of the general staff, Colone David Toro, became president and announced a socialistic regime. In 1937 he was overthrown by conservative mining and banking interests. His successor was the brilliant Army officer, General German Busch. Busch who had strong Nazi leanings, announced a totalitarian regime. He was soon overwhelmed with difficulties and died mysteriously of a shot

probably self-inflicted. General Enrique Peñaranda was elected president in 1940. He returned the government to a more conservative order, expelled the plotting German minister in 1941, paid the Standard Oil Company for its confiscated property, and entered completely into the Pan-American program of continental defense.

The Peñaranda government soon ran into difficulties. It was accused of favoring the owners of the tin

ing against the United States and the Peñaranda government was fanned by the very efficient fifth column of the Nazis, who used the arguments of the democratic forces in favor of better labor laws to bring the downfall of the Peñaranda administration. Although that government had declared war against Germany and had the full support of the United States and Great Britain, it suffered a surprise attack on the early morning of December 19, 1943. General Peñaranda



*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

mines and of shooting recklessly into a group of several hundred Indian miners, who were striking for better working conditions. At the same time the ambassador of the United States in La Paz was charged with exerting his influence in favor of the tin magnates. To calm the animated discussions both in Bolivia and in the United States, both governments agreed that a commission of labor experts from the United States should investigate the situation of the mine workers. Conditions were found to be of the worst, and suggestions were made for their improvement. Feel-

was exiled to Chile. Víctor Paz Estensoro, a young, radical professor of economics (born in 1907, once employed by a tin mining company, and later a congressman), was placed at the head of the government. Nazi elements in the new cabinet, along with the quick recognition of the new regime by Argentina, caused the United States and other American republics to delay recognizing the new administration.

**Social and Economic Development.** Bolivia is an inland state, one third of which is mountainous and two thirds lowland. More than half of the popu-

lation is pure Indian. Only 8 per cent are pure white. Most of the Bolivians are subsistence farmers or shepherds. The standards of living of the masses are low, little having been done thus far for their improvement. The mineral wealth of Bolivia is notable. Tin, silver, lead, zinc, gold, antimony, and copper are all major commercial products of export. However, lack of capital, labor, and transportation facilities have hampered the free development of Bolivia's rich mining regions. Rubber, cacao, and coffee are also exported.

Bolivia's most important national product is tin. In 1941 an arrangement was made with the United States to purchase most of that metal. This country also aided in financing a railroad from Santa Cruz, Bolivia, across the continent to Brazil and to the Atlantic Ocean at Santos.

#### PERU

Peru has a glorious past. To Lima, the "City of the Kings," all South America bowed in colonial days. This colonial glory has made it difficult for Peru to practice the principles of a republic. The traditional dominance of a few aristocratic families combined with the army has been one drawback. Another has been the 3,000,000 Indians who live in their primitive conditions and know nothing of modern democracy. The country has also had continuous quarrels with its neighbors, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador, and Colombia.

When the great Argentine, San Martín, resigned his command in Lima, a number of contestants for leadership appeared. Bolívar accepted the invitation to start off the

new republic under good auspices. The Liberator himself failed to unite Peru and Bolivia with the three northern countries where he was already president. A few years later another leader with ideas of federation appeared. This was General Andrés Santa Cruz. He limited his efforts to unifying Peru and Bolivia. As we have seen, Santa Cruz was soon deposed by armies from Chile and Argentina, who feared the federation.

**The Rule of Castilla.** The next strong man to undertake the job of starting his country on the road to order was Ramón Castilla. His rule from 1844 to 1851 was characterized by economic prosperity. He was one of the strong-armed rulers of the day. Though he had little education, he had great ability. He increased the country's nitrate and guano business, abolished slavery, and freed the Indian from unjust taxes. The rule of his successor was characterized by corruption and extravagance. In 1855 a revolution restored Castilla to power as a dictator. His second administration also was one of prosperity for the nation. However, Peru found herself surrounded by enemies at home and abroad who coveted the control of her riches. She was soon facing two wars.

**War with Spain.** In 1864 a war broke out with Spain. The mother country, who had not yet recognized Peru's independence, sent a fleet to collect damages suffered by Spanish citizens during the many revolutions in Peru. At first the war was fought by diplomats. The old arguments were used, as they have been so often when a strong country desires to pick a quarrel with a weak one: "You have



abused my citizens; you must pay them damages." When Peru refused to pay, Spain reinforced her navy and attacked both Peru and Peru's ally, Chile. This was a serious threat to South America. In December, 1865, Chile and Peru signed a treaty of alliance against Spain. Later both Ecuador and Bolivia joined in this alliance. The war was short and indecisive. The allies could do little when the defenseless port of Valparaíso was bombarded in 1866. However, an attack on the recently fortified Callao was repulsed on May 20. The war became an international scandal, and Spain called her fleet home. In 1871 a truce was arranged under the friendly auspices of the United States, and in 1879 a treaty of peace was signed.

**The War of the Pacific.** As we have already learned, Peru's war against Chile had more serious results. After Chile had defeated Bolivia, her victorious troops occupied Lima from 1881 to 1883. The invaders stripped the National Library of its books, uprooted lamp posts, and even sent the city's menagerie to Santiago. Peru not only lost her valuable nitrate fields, but her government also was thoroughly disorganized. The treasury was empty, and many a private fortune had disappeared. Hungry foreign creditors made exorbitant demands. For the next forty years Peru was plagued by struggles between rival leaders, some with reform programs, some with only personal ambitions.

**The Rule of Leguía.** In 1908 there appeared on the scene an excitable little man with an iron will by the name of Augusto B. Leguía. He held

the presidency for four years and then was exiled. During his exile he lived both in England and in the United States, where he sold life insurance and mixed with the wizards of high finance. When he returned to Peru in 1919, he won the election against the opposition of the government's own candidate. His popularity was so great, and his military and police force so extremely efficient, that for the next eleven years he ruled with a high and mighty hand. North American bankers loaned him the money. North American contractors paved the streets, built palaces, country clubs, and race tracks for him and his friends. Lima was transformed into a beautiful, modern city. According to certain foreign businessmen Leguía, like Porfirio Díaz of Mexico, was one of the greatest of modern rulers. When some of Leguía's friends proposed to present him with a residence where he could live on retiring from the presidency, he said that it would have to be a mausoleum! It seemed that he expected to remain the ruler of his country for life.

Opponents of Leguía were either jailed or exiled. The progressive elements of the country were scattered over America and Europe. They used the time in educating themselves and in preparing plans for the overthrow of Leguía. One of these exiles was a student in the University of San Marcos, Raúl Haya de la Torre. He went first to Mexico, where for two years he studied the principles of the revolution as they operated there. He then accepted an invitation from the Soviet Union to study Communism in that country. His six

months in Russia taught him much about political organization but convinced him that Communism was not adapted to conditions in Peru. He spent some time studying in Oxford University and in Germany, after which he visited the United States. He and other young revolutionaries formed a party which they called *Apra*, the "American Popular Revolutionary Alliance." Branches were organized in several Latin-American republics. It proposed a reform program which included anti-imperialism, socialization of natural resources, improvement of the condition of the the Indians, and modernized education.

#### **Cerro and the Revolution of 1930.**

When the crash in Wall Street came, Leguía could borrow no more money. Like Ibáñez in Chile, Siles in Bolivia, and many another dictator, he found that no money meant no friends. He was taken from the presidential palace to the penitentiary when an army colonel, Luis Sánchez Cerro, led a revolution and became president in 1930. Haya de la Torre and other exiles returned to Peru. But, from 1930 to 1944, the *Apra* leader and many of its members were in prison more often than they were out. Even so, this party, begun by a few idealistic university students, has grown to number 600,000 with membership in all classes of society and able to exert pressure on the conservative government.

**Recent Events.** When Sánchez Cerro was assassinated on April 30, 1933, by a member of the *Apra* organization, General Oscar Benavides became president. He ruled for the most part without a congress, or other re-

straining influences, until 1940. A revival of business enabled him to initiate a program of public improvements, especially the building of roads. For the first time it became possible to go by automobile from Lima, over the high Andean divide of 16,000 feet, to the headwaters of the Amazon near Iquitos.

Presidential elections were held in 1939. The *Apristas*, however, were not allowed to have a candidate on the ground that the *Apra* organization was international rather than representative of any Peruvian party. Dr. Manuel Prado, a professor of San Marcos, was elected. But he received only 262,000 votes and his opponent, 76,000, in a country that has more than 7,000,000 population. As an enlightened conservative, President Prado relaxed the persecution of radical opponents and enlarged the educational program. In 1942 he demonstrated his friendship to the United States by a visit to this country.

#### **Economic and Social Development.**

Peru is a rich country. Besides its enormous mineral resources, its many valleys and its coastal regions have great agricultural possibilities. It is growing in population. Its commercial life is being developed by improved transportation facilities. It has finished its part of the Pan-American Highway. Politically, the country still holds to the old colonial spirit, where the few rule the many. The Indian population, more than half of the total, still awaits a program that will abolish economic slavery and incorporate the people into a democracy participated in by all classes. The population of Peru is estimated at a little over 7,000,000, of which

only about 10 per cent are pure whites. The other 90 per cent, mostly Indians and mestizos, live in small communities scattered throughout the country. Agriculture is the basic industry of Peru, for although agricultural and pastoral products comprise only about 40 per cent of the value of the total exports, it is estimated that 85 per cent of the population is dependent, directly or indirectly, upon agriculture and stock raising. Minerals rank second to agriculture, with petroleum, copper, gold, silver, and lead as major products of export. Manufacturing is still in its early stages in Peru, ranking far behind agriculture and mining. Education is free and compulsory for children between the ages of seven and fourteen. Professional training is provided by the University of San Marcos.

The history of the republics dominated by the Andes Mountains has shown us how much their progress has been disturbed by disputes over boundaries. For three centuries all the west coast of South America was intimately related through Spanish colonial government. Bolívar and San Martín united them in their

struggle for independence. But the first hundred years of their life as republics was marked by frequent wars among themselves. If recent settlements of boundaries are made permanent, that advantage alone offers promise of new life for these republics of the Andes.

One of the most happy recent events on the west coast was the settlement of the Tacna-Arica question in 1929. Since that time the century-old strife between Peru and Chile has largely disappeared. There are still many opportunities for rivalries and jealousies between the two countries that can only be adjusted by wise statesmanship in both. Peru settled her boundary question with Ecuador in 1942. After mobilizing for war over the Leticia boundary in the upper Amazon region in 1933, Peru also arbitrated that question with Colombia. Colombia and Venezuela settled their long-standing dispute about national limits at a meeting of the presidents of the two nations in 1937. Only Bolivia remains dissatisfied because she has not had returned to her any part of her seacoast. If inter-American relations continue to improve, this act of injustice may be rectified.

### Words and Terms to Learn

War of the Pacific  
Tacna-Arica question  
"Popular Front"  
*Apra*

land-locked country  
Araucanian Indians  
Chaco War  
plebescite

### People to Identify

O'Higgins  
Santa Cruz  
Ballivián  
Ramón Castilla

Portales  
Balmaceda  
Alessandri  
Aguirre Cerda

Haya de la Torre  
Leguía  
Manuel Prado  
Ibáñez



### Learning through Discussion

1. Why has Chile had the most untroubled history of any Latin-American country?
2. Outline the four periods into which Chilean history may be divided. Name the outstanding men connected with three of the periods.
3. What does Chile owe to Bernardo O'Higgins?
4. Why did Chile declare war on Bolivia and Peru in 1873? What was the outcome of the War of the Pacific?
5. Discuss the "Popular Front" as it functions in Chilean politics.
6. Why was Bolivia named for Bolivar?
7. What cause contributed to Bolivia's revolutions?
8. What did Bolivia lose through defeat in the war with Chile? What was the final settlement in 1904?
9. What was Bolivia's purpose in the Chaco War? Why was she defeated?
10. What three obstacles have hampered Bolivia's progress? Which of these is it possible to remove? Can you suggest some means of doing so?
11. What products make Bolivia economically important in the world?
12. Explain three factors which have hampered democracy in Peru.
13. How did Peru suffer in the Pacific War against Chile?
14. Compare the policies of Leguía with those of Haya de la Torre.
15. What proportion of Peru's population is Indian? Do the Indians seem to be a problem? Explain how.

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. On an outline map of South America draw in, in blue pencil, the present boundaries of Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. Next, indicate, in red, the boundaries of the ancient empire of the Incas, and locate Cuzco, Lake Titicaca, Callao, and Lima. Show in solid brown the disputed provinces of Tacna and Arica.
2. Look up the products of Chile, Bolivia, and Peru, and make a chart which will show this information.

### Problems and Projects

1. Prepare an oral report on one of the following:
  - (a) Pizarro's Conquest of the Incas
  - (b) The Tin Mines of Bolivia
  - (c) The Guano Industry
  - (d) The Tacna-Arica Controversy
  - (e) Disposing of the Inca Treasure
2. Make a model of an Inca village, or collect pictures of Incan architecture.
3. Hold a class discussion on the Chilean problem of nitrates as compared with the Brazilian problem of coffee. You will need to do careful reading in the library if you wish to hold up your end of the discussion on this interesting problem of surpluses.

## XVI. COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, AND VENEZUELA

We have now come to the third group of South American republics. First, there was Argentina, flanked by Uruguay and Paraguay. Crossing the Andes we found Chile, joined by Bolivia and Peru. Coming north, we meet Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. We remember that Simón Bolívar actually united this trio under one government, and called it Great Colombia. When the personality of the Liberator no longer dominated the scene, this union fell apart. Although these three countries are closely interrelated, each has its own separate history. We shall consider Colombia first, since its capital, Bogotá, was at one time the capital of all three sections.

### COLOMBIA

Both a Pacific and an Atlantic country, Colombia is third largest in population of the South American republics and has more people (8,700,000) than its two neighboring countries combined.

Colombia has had five names since it secured its independence from Spain. In the days of Bolívar, when it was united with Venezuela and Ecuador, it was called Great Colombia. When the other two republics withdrew in 1830, it became the Republic of New Granada; in 1861 it changed its name to the United States of New

Granada; in 1863 it became the United States of Colombia; and in 1886 the present name was adopted, Republic of Colombia. These several changes of name, unique among Latin-American countries, is significant. Colombia, more than any of her neighbors, has fought over rival principles of government. A popular saying declares that when the three countries separated Colombia became a debating society, Venezuela a barracks, and Ecuador a convent. There have been many revolutions in Colombia, but they have been due to an excess of politics rather than merely a struggle of the "outs" to get in.

Geography has had a strong influence on the history of the country. It faces both the Atlantic and the Pacific. It possessed, until 1903, the best transoceanic canal route, situated at Panama. It is divided by three different branches of the Andes Mountains. The sweltering tropical coast lands, inhabited largely by Negroes and mulattoes, differ greatly from the cold tablelands, where are found most of the cities and the elite who govern the nation. Until the arrival of the airplane, it required eight to twelve days to travel from the coast to the capital city of Bogotá. Behind Bogotá, the land again slopes down to the tropical jungles of the Amazon valley. A divided land indeed, until



the invasion of the airplane in the 1920's!

**Santander, the First President.** Five men form the mountain peaks of Colombian history. The first of these is General Santander, who served under Bolívar during the war with Spain. While Bolívar was in Peru, Santander acted as president of Colombia. On the Liberator's return to Bogotá, Santander was accused of being connected with the plot to assassinate the Liberator. He escaped to the United States. After Bolívar abandoned Colombia in 1830, Santander was recalled and ruled the country from 1832 to 1837. Colombians today regard him as one of their greatest men. Under him the new republic got off to a fairly good start, in spite of its many financial and political troubles. A number of the English officers who had fought with Bolívar remained in the country and aided in liberalizing the old colonial conservatism. However, the curse of revolution was not long in getting started. General Obando, stalwart, fair-complexioned, blue-eyed, looking like a British officer, led a fierce struggle against the government.

**The Rule of Mosquera.** The next strong man on the scene was the former president, General Mosquera, who became the leader of the revolution after Obando's death in 1862. He was re-elected to the presidency in 1863 and again in 1866. His portrait makes him look every inch a ruler and an aristocrat. Although his education and his travels in Europe did not prepare him for democracy, he fooled his friends as well as his enemies by doing what several of his successors did—changing his theories

of government while in office. Supposedly conservative, he governed as a liberal. He separated Church and state, exiled bishops, and confiscated church property. He was president three times during the period between 1845 and 1867. All reforms, however, were accompanied by much strife and shifting of governmental organization. Groups warred against groups. Friends of today became enemies tomorrow. Mosquera gradually developed into a despot, instead of continuing to be a leader of unity and progress.

**The Rule of Núñez.** The end of anarchy came in 1880, when Rafael Núñez was elected president. He was a gifted lawyer and had traveled widely in Europe. While he was Mosqueras's secretary he had studied political problems. As a philosopher in government, he has been compared to Sarmiento of Argentina, Balmaceda of Chile, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States. He believed that "in politics there are no absolute truths; all things may be good or evil according to opportunity and the play of forces." Núñez started as a liberal and changed to a conservative. He came to believe that a centralized form of government in Colombia was needed for the moment. He stated his views as follows:

We have written liberty, but it is not practical. We are a republic only in name, for opinion is not expressed by the only legitimate means, suffrage. . . . Authority rather than anarchy is the best instrument for the long and arduous task of civilizing the human species.

Guided by such theories, Núñez ordered the teaching of the Catholic religion in the schools, putting his trust

in authority and in the Church. The constitution which he set up in 1886 endured, with few changes, for fifty years.

During the last few years of his presidency, which ended in 1894, he lived in his native city of Cartagena, exercising control through a deputy. The liberals took advantage of the retirement of Núñez and a division among the conservatives to start a formidable revolt. The revolution began in 1900 and lasted for three years, during which at least 100,000 men perished. Business was ruined, and communications were completely disrupted. Paper money became so cheap that it was humorously remarked that a basket of the same size was required to take the money to market as to bring back the purchases. Another serious situation presented itself in 1904. It looked as though the new president, General Reyes, was determined to make himself a dictator. But the reaction of the people was so strong that he quietly resigned and left the country.

**Unwise Loans.** Colombia joined other Southern republics in the craze for borrowing money from North American bankers in the 1920's. Investments of the United States in Colombia grew from some \$2,000,000 in 1913 to \$260,000,000 in 1929. Much of this money was wasted in useless, or ill-planned improvements. These reckless expenditures did not bring on revolution as in other countries. Colombia was tired of this way of settling her difficulties. But the situation aided the liberals to return to power.

**The New Liberal Regime.** Their standard bearer was the Colombian minister to Washington, Enrique

Olaya Herrera. Herrera began his education in Bogotá and later graduated from the National University in the same city. He entered journalism and became a leader of democratic thought. He attended several Pan-American conferences and gained a reputation as a friend of inter-American organization. A split in the strong conservative party in the 1930 elections gave the liberals their chance. Accepting the nomination, Herrera made a whirlwind campaign by plane. His election was a great surprise. He chose to rule moderately, with due respect for his opponents. While in no sense a genius, Herrera, who died a little while after he left the presidency in 1934, is remembered with affection for his quiet, progressive attitude as an administrator, when a more radical administration might have upset the country.

The rule of the liberals continued under the next two presidents, Alfonso López and Eduardo Santos. President López was elected for a second term following the retirement of Dr. Santos in 1942. López proved himself to be more radically inclined than either Herrera or Santos. During his first administration (1934-1938) he initiated land and labor reforms and allowed the Communist party to organize. He brought about a reform in the constitution which declared that education was "free,"—that is, not necessarily Catholic in character—as in the past. All forms of worship "not contrary to Christian morals" were declared permissible. On initiating his second term, President López declared himself in favor of an American League of Nations, a vigorous prosecution of the war against the



Axis, and a strong national program in favor of labor and popular education.

**International Relations.** Following the breakup of Great Colombia, the republic had wars over boundaries and other questions, with all her neighbors, Ecuador, Peru, and Venezuela. These disputes continued off and on for a century. The last serious trouble over boundaries was with Peru in 1932. The two countries invested heavily in armaments and were launching into war, when the good offices of the League of Nations and fellow American republics were accepted. The matter was adjusted in a conference held in Río de Janeiro. Boundary questions with Venezuela were finally settled in a friendly agreement announced at the meeting of the presidents of the two republics during a friendly reunion on the border line in 1938.

The most difficult questions have arisen with the United States over Panama and the canal route. In 1846 Colombia, becoming fearful of British aggression in Panama, made a treaty with the United States, which guaranteed the neutrality of the isthmus and which gave Colombia the right of transit across the isthmus for her armed forces and citizens. The United States then built a railroad across the isthmus and guaranteed its protection. It was this Treaty of 1846 which the United States claimed gave it the right to prohibit Colombian soldiers from using the railroad to cross from Colón to Panama City in order to suppress the revolution in Panama in 1903. Colombia refused to accept the treaty in regard to the canal proposed at that time by the

United States. A new treaty was approved in 1921, and friendly relations between the United States and Colombia were re-established. Feeling against the United States remained strong, however, until the adoption of the Good Neighbor Policy by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The two countries were brought into intimate association when Colombia broke relations with the Axis in 1941 and offered complete co-operation with its Northern neighbor.

**Economic and Social Development.** Of the 8,700,000 people who live in Colombia, more than half are mestizos. Less than 10 per cent are of pure white blood. These make up the governing class who live, for the most part, in the cool highland regions. Its high-grade coffee is the leading agricultural product. Other important agricultural products are sugar, rubber, rice, cotton, cacao, and fruit. Cattle raising is one of the principal industries, particularly in the plains region of the east. Minerals are also exported, petroleum, gold and platinum, and emeralds being the most important. Education is offered in about 8,000 public schools. There are 438 secondary schools, mostly private, and one university, the National University of Bogotá, founded in 1572.

#### ECUADOR

The impressive monument in the flourishing port city of Guayaquil marking the spot where Bolívar and San Martín had their famous interview is significant in the history of Ecuador. Bolívar had arrived from Colombia, and San Martín from Peru for the fateful conference. Both





*Photo by James Sawders*

After the coffee beans are picked, they are dried in the sun. The highest-priced coffee comes from the highlands of Colombia and Venezuela.



wanted to draw Ecuador to his side. Bolívar was the spryest and added the prize to Great Colombia. But when the Liberator died, Ecuador again assumed its separate life. Since then it has maintained an uneasy existence between its two more powerful neighbors. Through the years innumerable disputes over frontiers, bringing crowds of idle soldiers and defeated generals from Peru and Colombia to consume Ecuador's food, helped to stir its people to the very hopeful game of revolution.

Ecuador itself, moreover, is divided geographically into three completely differing sections. Bordering on the Pacific is a large coastal plain covered with tropical vegetation, haunted by alligators, parrots, and great snakes. The important city of this coastal section is Guayaquil, on the Guayas River. It is the hot, tropical port that connects the country with the outside world. Yellow fever, in former years, often prevented ships from stopping there. From Guayaquil it is a long, steady climb up to the great plateau, land of glorious perpetual spring. On that plateau is located the capital city, Quito, rich in colonial art and culture. Near by is the famous "Avenue of Volcanoes," where in a valley two-and-a-half miles above the sea the traveler views the snow-capped monsters, one every fifty or a hundred miles, planted, as it were, along the side of the road like giant trees. Nothing like this "avenue" exists anywhere else on the globe. Further to the east, down, down the steep slopes of these volcanoes, one finds himself in the Oriente, the dense jungles where begin the headwaters of the Amazon. The Indians of the Oriente—profes-

sional head-hunter tribes among them—the cultured citizens of Quito, and the busy merchants of Guayaquil live in three different worlds. The rivalries between the bustling city of Guayaquil and the politically minded capital of Quito have been the frequent cause of upsets in government.

The history of the republic is bound up with four remarkable men: General Juan José Flores (1801–1864), Vicente Rocafuerte (1783–1847), Gabriel García Moreno (1821–1875), and Eloy Alfaro (1848–1911). Flores and Rocafuerte shared the government of the new republic from 1830 to 1845. Theirs was one of the strangest relationships that ever existed. They alternated between enmity and friendship, and likewise alternated in control of the government. When Flores was president, Rocafuerte was governor of Guayaquil; when Rocafuerte was president, Flores was commander of the army!

**Flores and Rocafuerte (1830–1845).** Flores was born in Venezuela and fought with Bolívar in the War of Independence. He was in command of troops in Quito in 1830, the year that Bolívar died. He took advantage of the division and anarchy in Great Colombia and headed the movement which withdrew Ecuador from that federation. Flores was barely thirty when he began to direct the destinies of the infant republic. He was brave, quick in decisions, friendly, and appreciated a joke. When his soldiers mutinied because of hunger, he showed that he had a strong, dangerous arm. His repressive measures brought to light an opponent by the name of Rocafuerte.

Rocafuerte was a man of travel and

culture. Born in the same year as Bolívar, 1783, he was educated in Europe and traveled widely, much as Bolívar, Miranda, and the other revolutionaries had done. He had served in the court at Cadiz as a representative of Quito and studied parliamentary government in London. He had been received by the Empress Catherine of Russia and the crowned heads of Sweden, France, and Italy. He had visited the United States and Cuba. He fought for the freedom of Mexico, where he was imprisoned because of a pamphlet on the freedom of religion. When he again returned to Ecuador, he taught French to young men, using the revolutionary books of Rousseau and Montesquieu and requiring each student to teach another youth.

The first one to lead a movement to oppose the tyranny of Flores was Rocafuerte. After ten months of war he was captured. Flores recognized his enemy as the kind of man needed in government. Instead of the customary shooting at dawn, Rocafuerte was invited by Flores to become governor of Guayaquil, with a promise of the presidency when his own term expired. True to his word, he aided Rocafuerte to secure the presidency in 1835. Rocafuerte gave Ecuador a remarkable four years of administration, with government reform, new schools and hospitals, and good relations with neighboring countries. At the end of his term he returned to his position as governor of Guayaquil and Flores became president again.

General Flores's itch for power led him into trouble and finally into exile. After a costly and foolish expedition into Colombia he called a con-

stitutional convention and had a new constitution drafted extending the president's term of office to an eight-year period. His obedient henchmen then re-elected him. Under the circumstances this really meant a lifetime dictatorship. But he reckoned without his old friend Rocafuerte, who denounced such tyranny. The liberals revolted, and civil war broke out. After six months of fighting Flores was defeated and agreed to retire to Europe. He was to keep his military rank and pay and to receive 20,000 pesos for his expenses. While in Europe he basely plotted with Queen Isabella II of Spain to bring the west coast of South America again under Spanish rule. Other South American republics were so alarmed about this that they called a conference in Lima in 1847 for the purpose of repelling the invasion. Fortunately, England prevented the Spanish navy from sailing. However, five years later Flores was able to secure five ships in Peru, with which he menaced Guayaquil. But no welcome awaited him, and he departed for Peru. Ten years afterward he returned to Ecuador once more. He was made commander of the army under President García Moreno and retained that position till his death in 1864.

Rocafuerte, who had taken a leading part in the movement against his old ally, died in 1847, two years after Flores had departed for Europe. The fifteen years of government by these two powerful executives was followed by fifteen years of tumult, attempted reform, and reaction (1845-1860).

**The Rule of García Moreno.** The great figure that dominates the scene for the next fifteen years defies analy-



sis. By liberals he is ranked as a bigot, by conservatives a demigod, by all as a brilliant, austere servant of duty, as he saw it. Gabriel García Moreno was born in 1821 of Spanish parents. He was a brilliant student and noted for his hard work at the University of Quito. He visited Paris several times, and, during the famous liberal revolution of 1848, he developed a hatred for liberalism. He became rector of the University of Quito and senator from Guayaquil. Next he was exiled to Peru because of his bitter denunciation of the liberal government. In 1860 he was recalled and after a campaign of several months became the president. His government lasted for fifteen years, with him as president three times and at other times as an authoritative adviser. He invited Jesuit educators to re-organize the school system and to carry out a program of agriculture on scientific principles. He kept personal watch over the finances. He built roads. He opened an observatory and encouraged science. He eliminated graft and waged war on bureaucracy and smuggling.

All of Moreno's reforms revolved around the belief that "to moralize a country one must give it a Catholic constitution." He put education completely in the hands of the clergy, who were to see that no heretical books were permitted. He eulogized Emperor Maximilian in Mexico and tried to intervene in Colombia, where a liberal president was in power. He dedicated the country to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and placed a symbolic picture of the Sacred Heart in the principal government building. In spite of the fact that the dictator de-

fended the poor, brought prosperity, and enforced law, his liberal enemies, in exile, bitterly attacked him.

The greatest of Moreno's opponents was the distinguished writer, Juan Montalvo. He boasted, when Moreno was struck down by an assassin, that "it was my pen that slew him." But even Montalvo recognized in this hard-working, self-sacrificing leader, "a sublime intelligence, a superiority to every trial, a strong invincible will." Only Francia of Paraguay, Núñez of Colombia, and Balmaceda of Chile had brought such a powerful intellect to South American government.

Again, the old story repeated itself. A dominant ruler was followed by a period of anarchy. This period lasted for twenty years. In 1895 a man appeared who was as immersed in the beliefs of liberalism as García Moreno had been in the doctrines of the Church.

**The Alfaro Regime (1895-1912).** General Eloy Alfaro, a liberal of great ability, had been exiled by Moreno. During this period he had lived in Panama, where he studied liberal government and built up a fortune in business. He was a close friend of the writer, Juan Montalvo, with whom he worked on national problems. In 1897, after a period of political dominance following a revolution in Guayaquil, he was elected president. For two decades thereafter, as in the days of Flores and Rocafuerte, Alfaro alternated in power with another political leader, Gutiérrez Plaza. But always it was the liberal Alfaro who, until his death in 1912, dominated the scene. He separated Church and state and started a system of free pub-

lic schools. He gave much of his energy to the completion of the railroad from Guayaquil to Quito. The final unification of these two cities by rail meant much for the political and economic development of the country. The Church question was wisely handled in the beginning of his power by his own moderation and by the co-operation of Archbishop Gonzáles Suárez. But the smoldering hatred of the conservatives asserted itself. When, as a result, Alfaro resigned and left for Europe, anarchy ensued. He came back and attempted to regain control of the government. His enemies rose against him and sent him to prison. There he was attacked by a mob of fanatics and dragged into the street; his body was torn apart and paraded before the public. Just as in the case of his great enemy, García Moreno, Alfaro's good works for Ecuador were destroyed because the people had learned nothing of tolerance and unity for the national good.

**Recent Events.** Many presidents have ruled Ecuador since Alfaro. Alfredo Baquerizo Moreno (1916-1920) improved the sanitation of the port of Guayaquil, with the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation. Though José Luis Tamayo (1920-1924) was progressive in some respects, he was criticized because of the influence of certain banks on his administration. Dr. Isidro Ayora (1926-1931) invited a group of United States economists, headed by Professor Edwin Kemmerer, to diagnose the economic ailments of the government. As a result a central bank was established on June 1, 1927, and the currency was reformed. Between 1931 and 1940 twelve presidents ruled the country,

some of them for only a few days. Dr. Carlos Arroyo del Río, the liberal-radical candidate, was elected chief magistrate in 1940. He visited President Roosevelt at the White House in 1943 and offered Ecuador's complete co-operation, including the strategic Galápagos Islands, in support of the war efforts of the United Nations.

**Economic and Social Development.** Ecuador, like her two unfortunate neighbors, Paraguay and Bolivia, has been vexed with problems caused by her isolation from the outside world, by difficulties of transportation and communication within the country, by a large, unassimilated Indian population, by the prevalence of tropical diseases, by a small national budget, with which to reduce the illiteracy of her people. These all form a vicious circle which make for continued political disorder. The country has been especially cursed in recent years by the blight which has fallen on her most important crop, cacao (from which cocoa and chocolate are prepared). So far the experts have not been able satisfactorily to solve the problem. The mineral wealth has been developed to only a small degree, although it is known that there are valuable mineral deposits in the country. Cacao, vegetable ivory, straw hats (hand-plaited of carefully selected young leaves of the jipijapa plant), coffee, and tropical fruits are the principal exports.

Ecuador has experienced an awakening among her young intellectuals which promises much for the country's future. This new life is especially in evidence in the production of a number of social novels which describe the needs of the Indians and





*Photo from Grace Line*

The labor of Latin-American workers is as important as the treaties written by diplomats in promoting friendship between the Americas. This native of Ecuador needs great skill to weave this fine "Panama" hat.

the laboring classes. The same group has founded magazines on cultural and educational subjects that circulate in all parts of the continent.

#### VENEZUELA

Little Venice, the Spaniards called this country because of the many rivulets that reminded them of the canals of Venice. Home of the most famous of South Americans, Simón Bolívar,

seat of operations of the most colorful dictators of modern times, producer of enormous supplies of petroleum, birthplace of noted literary leaders—that is the story of Venezuela. United with Colombia and Ecuador under the sway of its greatest citizen, Venezuela withdrew from them a year before the Liberator died. Strange to say, this separation took place under the direction of General José Antonio



Páez, who had fought for many years under Bolívar. A ranchman on the plains of Venezuela, Páez first offered himself and his men to the Liberator in the midst of a hard campaign against the Spaniards.

"If I only had those three enemy gunboats moored on the opposite bank of the River [Apure] we would surely win the coming battle," sighed Bolívar. "Don't worry about that, General," replied Páez. He called fifty of his *llaneros* (cowboys), pointed at the gunboats, and led the horsemen pell-mell into the river. It was a half mile across, and the river was full of crocodiles. The Spaniards were so overcome at the sight of the swimming, shouting, struggling horsemen that they abandoned the boats. Bolívar and his little Venezuelan army watched this astounding feat with great admiration. Thereafter the two leaders fought many a battle together.

**The Páez Regime.** Local conditions led Páez in 1830 to set up an independent government. In spite of his lack of education Páez started his country on a moderate, liberal regime. He faced great difficulties because the country had been the scene of long years of terrific fighting, and most of the educated people had been killed in battle. Páez influenced the country, both when he was in office and out of office, for fifteen years. He opened schools, guarded the treasury, built roads, proclaimed religious tolerance, and reduced the army to 800 men.

The conservative elements moved against Páez. After several defeats he was expelled from the country in 1850. He went to live in the United

States, where he became popular. His pleasant attitude, his frankness and friendliness, along with his handsome appearance won him many attentions when the populace saluted him on the streets. In New York, Philadelphia, and Washington he was received with military honors. He presented his sword to the city of New York. There he died, on May 6, 1873, in his eighty-third year. His body was returned to Venezuela on a United States naval vessel, under the special authority of Congress.

The successor to Páez in 1846 was José T. Monagas, a strange mixture of professed liberalism and tyranny. His army even stormed congress and killed several deputies who endeavored to escape. He and his brothers carried on a disgraceful rule for twelve years.

**The Rule of Guzmán Blanco.** There now appeared on the scene the most picturesque of all South American *caudillos*, Antonio Guzmán Blanco. He was the son of a liberal newspaper editor in Caracas, who obtained the presidency by overthrowing the Monagas government. For twenty years he ruled with a combination of characteristics that produced both progress and ridicule. Taking offense at a minor dispute with the archbishop, he introduced a severe anti-clerical program, banished nunneries, and authorized the marriage of the clergy. His "unbending progressive autocracy," as one Venezuelan writer expresses it, developed education and reformed finances. His egotism knew no bounds. He assigned prizes to school children for the best essays on "The Glory of the Illustrious American" (his self-

chosen title). His numerous public works all bore his name in a prominent place. He even had statues erected to himself. He presented full-length portraits of himself to friends who were expected to place these in prominent positions. It is reported that one such painting depicting the death scene of Bolívar represented the "illustrious American" as among the prominent people present, although Guzmán was a mere infant when the Liberator died! When the dictator, for some reason, was not actually occupying the presidency, he lived in Paris and from there sent his orders to his puppet in Caracas. And yet, Guzmán Blanco did much to improve Venezuela. He spent his last years in luxury in Paris, where he died in 1899.

**The Dictatorship of Castro.** Venezuela's next dictator was General Cipriano Castro. He was born in 1858, worked on a cattle ranch, and received little education. While in the cattle business in Colombia, he invaded his native land and established himself in the presidency with the aid of a lieutenant by the name of Juan Vicente Gómez. "Supreme Chief of the Liberal Revolutionary Restoration" was the title he chose for himself. For nine years he ruled Venezuela as a cruel, relentless dictator. His insolence in dealing with foreign creditors aided in bringing about his downfall. His immoral personal life broke his health. In 1908 he went to Europe to consult physicians. He had already sent his family and immense sums of money abroad. He left as vice-president his old friend, General Gómez. That proved to be a fatal mistake. For when Castro decided to

return to Venezuela and his presidential office, Gómez refused to allow him to land.

**The Dictatorship of Gómez.** A remarkable dictatorship which lasted for twenty-seven years was then initiated by the crafty and cruel Gómez. He maintained order, and clapped into dungeons those who opposed him. When it was discovered that Venezuela had large quantities of oil, the sly, old dictator, remembering Mexico's difficulties, called the foreign oilmen together and asked them to submit their suggestions for a just partnership with the nation for the production of petroleum. With the aid of his own experts he made an agreement with the petroleum magnates that gave Venezuela a large income from oil exported from the country. The government was so prosperous that it paid off all of its public debt and became the only nation in the world free from debt. Foreigners regarded Gómez as a great ruler. But his own people knew that while in office he had grown to be one of the richest men in the world and that he had sent to dark dungeons, exiled, or assassinated many of the liberal-minded people of the country.

Hated by his people, this last of the old-style dictators of Latin America, died in 1935. There was great rejoicing on the part of the whole nation. His successor was General Eleázar López Contreras, who had been Gómez' minister of war. To the surprise of all, Contreras was able to guide the nation into new life without any violent upheaval. The exiles returned home. Vengeance was wreaked on the rich Gómez family and upon his supporters. But the



country soon settled down to a program of education, public health, improvement of public works, and restoration of national dignity.

In 1941 Contreras turned over his administration to his duly elected successor, General Isaías Medina. The whole of America rejoiced to see the progress of Venezuela toward democratic life.

**Economic and Social Development.** The population of Venezuela totals about three and a half millions, of which 10 per cent are pure whites, and 70 to 90 per cent are mestizos. Agriculture is the most important industry, and coffee is the leading crop. Cacao, fruits, and vegetables are also exported. Stock raising is an important industry. It is oil, however, that has transformed the national econ-

omy of Venezuela from a rather poor, tropical country to one which is, for the present at least, among the most stable in the world.

Although Venezuela started out as the leader of South American independence and cultural life under the inspiration of three great characters—Miranda the Forerunner, Bolívar the Liberator, and Bello, the writer and teacher—it lost the way for a while. Today it is again typical of all its fellow republics in its efforts to adapt itself to modern conditions. The second World War has awakened the people. Relations with the Axis were broken soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Co-operation with the other members of the Pan American Union for the development of a superior continental life became evident.

### Words and Terms to Learn

Oriente

Great Colombia

*llaneros*

headwaters of the Amazon

"Avenue of Volcanoes"

Treaty of 1846

### People to Identify

Juan Vicente Gómez

General Flores

García Moreno

Juan Montalvo

Rafael Núñez

Mosquera

Guzmán Blanco

Vicente Rocafuerte

General Santander

López Contreras

José Antonio Páez

Olaya Herrera

Eloy Alfaro

### Learning through Discussion

1. How does the geography of Colombia account for a variety of races? For the preference for air transportation over land transportation?
2. Why is it said of General Mosquera that "supposedly conservative, he governed as a liberal"?
3. In what way did Núñez undo the work of Mosquera?
4. Were Alfonso López's policies more like those of Mosquera or of Núñez?

5. Why was Colombia very critical of the United States from 1903 until 1921?
6. How does the geography of Ecuador account for the differences between Guayaquil, Quito, and the Oriente Province?
7. Which man seems to have contributed more to Ecuador—Flores or Rocafuerte?
8. Compare the policies and acts of García Moreno and Eloy Alfaro.
9. Explain four of the national problems which Ecuador faces.
10. What product of Ecuador is consumed particularly by young people?
11. Why did the government of Venezuela want the body of General Páez brought back to that country for burial? And why did the United States Congress send it on a naval vessel?
12. What was the chief merit of Guzmán Blanco? The chief fault?
13. How did President Gómez make Venezuela's oil benefit that nation?
14. Why was Venezuela's election of 1941 so remarkable?
15. Give four examples of serious boundary disputes in South America which have been settled in recent years.

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. On an outline map of South America draw in blue pencil the present boundaries of Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. Locate the following: Caracas, Bogotá, Guayaquil, Quito, Colón, Panama City, the Orinoco River, the "Avenue of Volcanoes."
2. Look up the products of Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, and make a chart which will show this information.

### Problems and Projects

1. Write the story of a Panama hat from the time its manufacture is begun until it is sold in a store in your community.
2. Describe a trip on the Pan-American Highway from Caracas to Bogotá, Quito, and Lima.
3. Dramatize an emergency meeting of students from Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador, held in the city of Bogotá where they meet to discuss the advisability of restoring the former unity of Great Colombia.

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PART III

*International Life of a  
Continent*



## INTERNATIONAL LIFE OF A CONTINENT

*Latin Americans are favorable to international relations. From Spain they inherited a world view of life. From the days of Simón Bolívar they have believed in international government. The powerful nations of Europe and the United States have tended to interfere with the weaker countries of the South. The Monroe Doctrine has been both an aid and a hindrance to their development.*

*Following their independence the Southern republics made an effort toward co-operation with the United States. That country was too busy with its own expansion to support such co-operation. For the first fifty years the Pan-American movement was led by the Latin Americans. For the next fifty years it was dominated by the United States. Since 1933 it has been marked by co-operation among all the republics.*

*The Good Neighbor Policy has helped Latin America to forget earlier interventions in her affairs. A century of effort toward co-operation was marked largely by failure. Recent success has been achieved by the abandonment of intervention by the United States, the sharing of the responsibilities of the Monroe Doctrine, the mutual promotion of trade, and the recognition that foreign capital should obey national laws and aid in raising the standard of living in countries where it operates.*

*The attack on the American Continent by the Axis Powers brought an even greater unity. The century-old dream of Bolívar for an Association of American Nations as a part of a World Federation has been revived.*



## *XVII. INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RELATIONS*

American international relations follow the lines of a triangle. The apex of the triangle is in Europe. The first side was traced by Columbus in 1492 and extended from southern Europe to the middle section of the New World. For the first century this was practically the only line of communication. During that time European culture flowed constantly toward what is now called Latin America and established itself early in that section of the world. A hundred years later, with the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth, the second side of the triangle was laid down. During the next two centuries the international relations of the New World were confined to these two separate lines, flowing to and from the motherland but having nothing to do with each other. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when most of the American countries had established their independence, that the third side of the triangle running north and south began to be traced.

The line connecting north and south has been the most difficult to establish. Both groups of colonists in the Americas found the flow of ideas, of commerce, and of travel much easier to carry on with kinsmen back in Europe than with fellow frontiersmen, North and South. After securing

their independence, the United States and Latin America realized that it would be mutually helpful to develop closer relations. We will study this movement in detail. Before doing so, let us glance at the high lights in the efforts of various Old World countries to control the Latin-American republics.

### **RELATIONS WITH EUROPE**

The political relationships of Latin America with Europe have been largely with the countries of Spain, Great Britain, France, and Germany. It might have been expected that the mother countries would have interfered with their young offspring more than did other nations. But such has not been the case. As for Portugal, a pigmy in comparison with her enormous daughter, she has made practically no effort to meddle in Brazil's affairs.

**Spain.** Spain made several attempts to recover her lost colonies. In the 1840's General Flores, the exiled dictator of Ecuador, engaged in a filibuster expedition, aided by the queen of Spain, to restore the mother country's power. From 1861 to 1865 the Dominicans actually returned to the Spanish flag. In 1866 Spain sent a diplomatic mission, accompanied by battleships, to make certain demands

on Peru. The result was a war in which Chile aided Peru. The bombardment of the defenseless port of Valparaíso, and later of Callao by the Spaniards reacted against them so completely that they never again attempted to reaffirm their sovereignty over these former colonies. The long struggle between Spain and her last American colony, Cuba, was a continuous cause of international disturbance. Spain, since 1900, has exercised only a cultural influence on her former possessions in America. Even that was reduced by the development of the reactionary revolution led by General Francisco Franco.

**Great Britain.** Great Britain aided in the independence movement in Latin America in order to weaken Spain, her rival, and to build up a market for her manufactured goods. British bankers began to make loans to Argentina as early as 1824 and throughout the century have financed the building of railroads and other public improvements. The economic and political influences of Great Britain in Latin America have often caused rivalries with the United States in that field.

Britain's ambitions in Mexico, Texas, Cuba, and Central America were long a disturbing element in the internal affairs of those countries, especially as the United States had the same ambitions.

The history of British Guiana, British Honduras, and the Falkland Islands is a reminder of early British movements to influence the continent. Argentina still protests vigorously the holding of the Falkland Islands, as Guatemala does the possession of British Honduras. As early as 1806

Britain occupied Buenos Aires but soon was driven out by local forces.

Anglo-American rivalries in Central America almost brought about war. British settlers in the port city of Belize spread into the back country as Americans had in Texas, and in 1848 British Honduras was claimed as a colony. In 1841 Britain, with the evident purpose of dominating the canal route, backed the chief of the Mosquito tribe in extending his territory to Greytown, Nicaragua.

About the middle of the century Great Britain had a serious dispute with Brazil over the slave trade and in 1895-1899 with Venezuela over the boundary of British Guiana.

**France.** France secured a dominant cultural influence over all Latin America in the early days of the nineteenth century. She also made several attempts at political dominance. In 1838 France and Mexico engaged in the "Pastry Cook's War," so called because it began over the claims of a French pastry cook. France also actively intervened in the affairs of Argentina and Uruguay from 1838 to 1850.

Fifteen years later Napoleon III helped Maximilian to establish himself as emperor of Mexico. This proved to be the most dangerous move ever made by any outside nation to control the life of a Latin-American country.

**Germany.** Except for the settlers who emigrated to Brazil in 1824, Germany came late into the field. Once started, however, she drove hard and fast. From 1896 to the beginning of the first World War, her commerce with Latin America increased 325 per cent; her colonists, of both farmer and

commercial classes, reached the number of 500,000; her ships were the fastest, her goods were the cheapest, her banks the most accommodating. German cultural societies and German schools, aided by the home government, sprang up in every Latin-American country. The German Foreign Office began to take a lively interest in inter-American problems.

Germany became involved in the financial troubles of Caribbean countries and sent military forces to Nicaragua in 1878 and to Haiti in 1898. Germany's most famous attempt at intervention was in connection with the claims on Venezuela in 1902-1903.

During the first World War German propaganda in Latin America against the United States was heavy. It increased enormously upon the appearance of Adolf Hitler.

#### EFFORTS TO BECOME GOOD NEIGHBORS

Relationships between the Latin-American countries themselves have been discussed in the section on the history of each republic. We are now ready to face the interesting question of inter-American relations and the Good Neighbor Policy.

**Three Policies of Inter-American Co-operation.** President Franklin D. Roosevelt said in his inaugural address on March 4, 1933: "I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors."

One hundred and fifteen years before the statement of the Good Neighbor Policy Simón Bolívar wrote to the president of Argentina: "When more favorable circumstances afford us more frequent communications, we shall hasten to set on foot the American covenant. By forming one political body of all our republics, we shall present America to the world with an aspect of majesty and greatness unparalleled among the nations."

Five years after Bolívar wrote to the Argentine president advocating continental unity, President James Monroe, on December 2, 1823, addressed Congress as follows: "We owe it therefore to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] powers to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any part of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

The three policies announced by these three great leaders of the American continent are principles with which every right-thinking person will agree. All recognize that in our own communities we should have good relations with our neighbors. We also believe that our own community should co-operate with other communities to improve roads, health, and education as well as work co-operatively against outside diseases and criminals. Every young couple in the community has a natural desire to live its own life, to develop its family in its own way without undue interference from the parents. Nations are only communities grown large. Theoretically, American nations have always recognized that they ought to treat each other in a kindly fashion.



They have also recognized that certain benefits would come to each of them by their co-operating in the development of trade, the settling of disputes, and the improvement of the continent as a whole. Equally, all the American nations, having secured by shedding of blood independence from the countries of Europe, have held the principle that President Monroe announced—that the Old World must not interfere with the New World, in its development of democratic life.

If these three principles have been accepted from the beginning of their history by the United States and the Latin-American countries, how is it that so much time elapsed before they were put into practice? When we review the history of the continent, we find that such ideals were not always followed for the same reasons that local communities often fail to achieve neighborliness and co-operative action.

**Territorial Possessions.** For example, visiting a certain community you might find one family living in a fine large house with extensive grounds while another family had only a cottage on a small lot. If you returned twenty years later and found that the situation had been reversed—that the former owner of the small lot now possessed the large estate—you would naturally wonder if the exchange of property had disturbed neighborliness. On the American continent the United States began with a small territory of thirteen original states fronting on the Atlantic Ocean. Latin America began with a great territory, which extended all the way from California down through New Mexico, Old Mexico, and Panama, down to Cape Horn. If you look at

the map as it was when George Washington took his seat as president, you will see that the United States at its widest part extended only as far as the Mississippi River. If you again take a look at a map of the Americas in 1850, you will see that the United States had extended its territory across the entire continent to the shores of the Pacific and south as far as the Rio Grande and the keys of southern Florida. This change in the map suggests that something might have happened that disturbed relationships between the two neighbors. And so it had.

**Difficulties in Transportation.** If neighbors live so far apart that they seldom see each other and if there are no roads connecting them, they are not likely to understand each other or to desire each other's friendship. Until very recently that was the condition of the United States and its neighbors to the south. Travel between the United States and most of the Latin-American countries has been difficult and expensive.

**Circulation of False Reports.** A neighborhood is easily divided by rumors and false reports. These misunderstandings grow when neighbors do not speak the same language, have different ideals in life, and occupy different positions as to education, business, and political organizations. All these things have kept American nations from being good neighbors. The false rumors and lack of understanding among the younger countries have been promoted and encouraged by some of the older nations of Europe, who hoped that the young people would neither like nor understand each other.



North America in 1783



**Rivalries.** As each family or nation begins to grow and strive for leadership, it finds itself in competition with the other members of the group. American nations, as they have grown, have become jealous of the power and prestige of their neighbors. This has naturally made it more difficult for each to be a magnanimous neighbor or to work with other countries for the common good of the continent.

**Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism.** Keeping in mind the fundamental laws of community solidarity, let us examine the history of the American nations—always remembering that nations are simply enlarged communities. We will thus understand why Pan-American amity has encountered difficulties. The United States was a small, weak country when Spanish America began, in 1810, to struggle for its independence. We had our own problems with Spain. We desired to secure Florida from that country and could not afford to affront her. Many leaders believed, therefore, that it would be unwise for the United States to risk offending Spain by aiding the independence movement of her colonies. But the United States held a great soul, daring and brilliant as Bolívar himself, a man who was willing to risk his all in backing the struggle of our Southern neighbors for independence. That man was the idol of the frontier state of Kentucky, Henry Clay. Fascinating and irresistible, as Charles Dickens later described him, this great orator labored incessantly from 1816 to 1822 for his country's recognition of the cause of the Spanish-American patriots. He was the youngest Speaker the House of Representatives had ever known.

What some have called the greatest speech ever delivered on the floor of the House was made by Clay one hundred twenty-five years ago in asking for the recognition of the young Spanish-American republics. Said Clay:

In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America the United States have the deepest interest. There is no question in the foreign policy of this country which has ever arisen or which I can conceive as ever occurring in the decision of which we have or can have so much at stake. It is in our power to create a system of which we shall be the center and in which South America will act with us. These governments, once independent, will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy.

Few Pan-American conferences are celebrated today without glowing tributes being paid by Latin Americans to the leadership of Henry Clay. Under his inspiration, the United States, in 1822, became the first nation in the world to recognize the independence of the Southern republics. In December, 1823, Monroe issued his famous message, which became the fundamental foreign policy of the United States. The idea that Europe should not mix in the affairs of the American continent was as strongly held in Latin America as in the United States. Monroe's statement was welcomed by all Latin-American countries. It was only in later years, when the doctrine was twisted to signify the dominance of the United States on the American continent, that the Latin Americans found so much fault with it.

**The First American Congress.** The first call for inter-American cooperation came from the great South



American leader, Simón Bolívar. He felt that friendly feeling between neighbors should be organized to develop the neighborhood and protect it from marauders. This movement was initiated by calling a congress at Panama in 1826. Delegates assembled from Peru, Great Colombia (Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela), Central America, and Mexico. Transportation difficulties and jealousies prevented delegates coming from the southern end of South America. The United States Congress debated for some five months the question of sending delegates. When Congress finally approved, it was too late for the delegates to arrive at the meeting.

The First American Congress, held at Panama, reviewed all the arguments in favor of Pan-American co-operation. After a month's session the delegates approved the organization of a general assembly which was to meet every two years to negotiate treaties, to maintain peace and to arbitrate difficulties between nations. The following principles were approved: American countries were to aid one another with military forces if attacked by foreign nations; all disputes were to be settled by arbitration; rights of citizenship in each country were to be extended to citizens of other American countries; traffic in slaves was to be renounced; the integrity of each American state was to be mutually guaranteed. These treaties were never adopted by the American nations. The absence of representatives from the United States was a hard blow to the plans for co-operation. The debates in Congress showed that this country was not willing to enter into any organized relationships with other

governments to protect the continent from Europe. Neither did it want to join an organization to promote better conditions on this continent.

The Latin-American countries were convinced of the need of such international organization. They wanted it for three reasons: first, for mutual protection against the Spanish threats of reconquest; second, in order to settle disputes by arbitration rather than by war; third, because they believed that such an international league could aid in the promotion of trade, of political order, and of education. These are the three objectives of all international co-operation: self-protection, prevention of war, and mutual improvement. Bolívar and his associates were the first leaders in history to state these principles so clearly. One hundred years later the League of Nations, formed in Paris, recognized these principles as fundamental. The most powerful of American nations, the United States, preferred to go its own way. It was not until a cold March day in 1933, more than one hundred years later, that our government clearly turned to the policy of co-operation formulated by Simón Bolívar.

**The Doctrine of "Manifest Destiny."** In the two decades, 1840-1860, the expression "manifest destiny" became the motto of the United States. The idea that the United States was destined to overspread the continent took possession of the country. In 1846 it went to war with Mexico, in spite of the protests of such leaders as Abraham Lincoln. As a result of that war the United States became still stronger. It added to its land nearly half of Mexico's total territory.

The Mexican War, Latin Americans tell us, marked the beginning of the suspicion and fear of the United States by the Southern republics. The American neighborhood was divided. The rich and the poor, the successful and the unsuccessful, began to work against each other.

**The Second American Congress.** Following the Panama meeting in 1826 several efforts were made to call another American Congress. In 1847 the Second American Congress assembled in Lima, Peru. The exciting topic was the rumored invasion of western South America by Spain, led by a renegade Ecuadorian general named Juan José Flores. The United States sent no delegates to the conference. How could it send emissaries of peace and good will when it was engaged in war with Mexico, one of the members of the community? Treaties were again signed, promising more or less the same kind of co-operation as at Panama. But the threat of Spain disappeared. The treaties were not approved. Each of the nations became more and more involved in its own problems.

**The Third American Congress.** The Third American Congress was held in Santiago, Chile, in 1856. By this time Latin-American republics frankly acknowledged their fear of the United States. The United States filibuster, William Walker, had invaded Nicaragua the year before. Backed by a few well-trained sharpshooters he had elevated himself to the presidency of the country. It seemed that he even counted on a certain amount of backing from the homeland in his aim of annexing Nicaragua to the United States. Though a treaty providing for

a "great American family" union was drafted, the United States was not invited to become a signer of the treaty. No results of any value came of this attempt. The same difficulties of isolation, of local problems, and of international jealousies brought failure.

**The Fourth American Congress.** "The wolf is at the door" was again heard in the 1860's. This time it was no false alarm, for Europe was once more menacing the peace of the New World. Maximilian, backed by France, had established an empire in Mexico. The Spanish flag was again flying over Santo Domingo. Spain had sent her fleet to the west coast of South America to force Peru to recognize certain claims arising from alleged ill treatment of Spanish citizens in Peru.

The Fourth American Congress assembled on November 16, 1864, in Lima to face this threat against the American continent. The United States was in no position to participate in such a conference, because it was overwhelmingly occupied by the War between the States. Some of the most famous statesmen of South America attended the conference. There was a lively discussion of many problems involved in continental unity. Under the leadership of Chile and Peru the countries on the Pacific temporarily united. But when the common enemy disappeared, each nation returned to its own interests. Not long after the Fourth American Congress a bloody war broke out between Paraguay on one side and Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay on the other. This war, which lasted from 1865 to 1870, ended with the complete defeat of Paraguay. The peace was amicably arranged. But another war, the War



of the Pacific, which lasted from 1879 to 1883, left divisions that were to separate nations for many decades. In this war Chile defeated Peru and Bolivia and took the rich nitrate provinces from those two countries. The cause of Pan-Americanism suffered from this disunity until 1929, when the old Tacna and Arica wound was finally healed. Peru took Tacna, and Chile took Arica. As a result Bolivia was left isolated from the sea.

**The United States and Pan-Americanism.** At the beginning of the twentieth century what was the position of the United States in carrying out the three principles of neighborliness, of international co-operation, and of the protection of the continent from European aggression? The neighborly feeling expressed by Henry Clay in North America and by many statesmen in Latin America had disappeared. Suspicion of the United States had possessed the Southern countries as strongly as the cry of "manifest destiny" had claimed the North. Neighborliness had disappeared. The second principle, that of co-operation for the advancement of the community, had been stressed by the Latin-American countries, but without success. The third principle of protection from outside enemies had been successfully carried out, but for this the Latin Americans, who had repulsed the Spanish navy in its attack upon Peru and Chile, were largely responsible. Those nations were deeply disappointed when the United States failed to back the Monroe Doctrine by aiding them in repulsing Spain. They could not then understand, nor can we today, why the United States battleships did not aid

the South American navies in preventing the Spanish bombardment in 1866 of the unprotected port of Valparaíso. The fact was, however, that although the United States ships were anchored in the Valparaíso harbor when the Spaniards notified them of the proposed bombardment, our ships weighed anchor and put out to sea, leaving the Chilean port defenseless. When the French forces landed in Veracruz in 1863 and established an empire under Maximilian, the neutral policy of the United States is more understandable, for the nation was engaged in a life-and-death struggle of its own.

However, following the close of the War between the States, we did notify France that she must withdraw her troops from Mexico. This no doubt aided Mexico to defeat Maximilian. It was clear that up to that day the Americas had not been able to organize themselves. Neither had they been able to agree on a co-operative policy of protecting the continent from outside enemies.

The sad experience of the War between the States gave the United States a new understanding of the possibility of civil disturbances and revolutions of the kind that had plagued her Southern neighbors. Following the war her industries developed rapidly. Her new factories needed markets. It was natural that the lands to the South should hopefully command her attention. At this time there appeared another great name in Pan-Americanism, Secretary of State James G. Blaine. He was always awake to the interests of his party and his country. He sensed the beginning of the new era of expansion and power following



the War between the States. His every thought centered on how to usher in this new epoch.

Shortly after Blaine had been appointed Secretary of State, an official from the state department called upon him to make a report. It so happened that the new Secretary of State had been looking about for some new project that might advance his country and his own political reputation. When the official suggested that better relations with the Latin-American republics offered a new opportunity, the proposal immediately appealed to the alert Mr. Blaine. Consequently, he prevailed upon his government to call the first Pan-American conference ever held under the leadership of the United States.

Two fundamental ideas lay behind the calling of the conference. The first one was to promote political peace on the continent. The War of the Pacific, when Chile had defeated Peru and Bolivia, had left a very unsatisfactory relationship among the South American republics. Boundary disputes also disturbed conditions in Mexico and Central America. Blaine had found himself in difficulty as a result of his efforts to settle some of these disputes. Some way had to be found to turn to the second idea of improvement of commercial relationships between the United States and Latin America. This improvement was necessary because the United States was developing factories and felt the need of a larger foreign trade. At that time half the foreign trade of the United States was with the British Empire. Another 25 per cent was with Asia; only 15 per cent was with Latin America. Even that 15 per cent was

unsatisfactory. In 1860, for example the United States purchased \$85,000,000 worth of goods from Latin America, most of which came into this country free of duty. In that same year we sold to Latin America only \$39,000,000 worth of goods, on most of which a high duty was exacted as they entered Latin America. Blaine hoped to remedy that unfavorable situation at the conference in Washington. While previous conferences had centered around the question of political co-operation, the United States was now trying to center co-operation around the idea of trade

**The First Pan-American Conference (1889).** The meeting in Washington in 1889 brought together representatives from every Latin-American nation, with the exception of the Dominican Republic. Here the representatives from all but one country met face to face and frankly discussed their relationships. Misunderstandings were many. The two fundamental ideas of Blaine, the arbitration of disputes and the establishment of a customs union which would eliminate tariffs between American nations, were both defeated after months of discussion. Few countries were willing to promise to settle all their disputes by arbitration. As for an American customs union, the Latin-American nations were afraid that agreement to any special tariff arrangements with the United States might bring retaliation from European countries, on which they depended for much of their trade. Many practical Pan-American questions, such as a Pan-American railroad, Pan-American bank, and Pan-American customs union, were discussed. However, the

only practical result of the meeting was the organization of the commercial Bureau of American Republics. This bureau developed into the now well-known Pan American Union. The word "Pan-America" was first used at the Washington Conference. It has become the popular name for the series of gatherings initiated in 1889 and now held on the average of every five years.

It was not long before the new Pan-American movement, developed under United States leadership, ran into strong head winds. These winds blew furiously all around the Caribbean Sea at the turn of the century. The storm at first centered around Cuba. The struggle between that island and the mother country, Spain, became so fierce that the United States could no longer remain neutral. With the aid of the United States, Spain was driven out of Cuba and America. When the Spanish disappeared, however, the United States soldiers remained in Cuba. That nation frankly told Cuba that the soldiers would not be withdrawn until the Cubans had written into their constitution an article, phrased by Senator Platt of Connecticut, authorizing the United States Government to intervene in the affairs of Cuba whenever that country showed itself unable to keep order. The Platt Amendment also stipulated that a naval base in Cuba should be leased to the United States. This aroused resentment in all Latin-American countries. A school of writers, led by the Uruguayan essayist, José Enrique Rodó, and the Argentine poet and historian, Manuel Ugarte, raised the cry of "Yankee Imperialism!"

**United States Imperialism.** This new expansionist movement was a part of the spirit of the times. The influence of a brilliant trio of young Americans had begun to have a practical effect on the international relations of the United States. This trio was composed of, first, young Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in speaking softly and carrying a big stick; second, Henry Cabot Lodge, who believed fanatically in the place of the scholar in politics; and third, Admiral Alfred T. Mahan, who was convinced that the United States was then ready to dominate the world by the adoption of the proper kind of naval strategy. About 1895 these three men began their propaganda to change the isolationist spirit in the United States to a program of world leadership. They poured out newspaper interviews, magazine articles, and learned tomes, all arguing for America's place as a world power. Luck was with them. At the turn of the century the assassination of President McKinley had put Theodore Roosevelt into the White House; Lodge had become the dominant power in the Senate; and Mahan was accepted as one of the greatest naval strategists of his day. Mahan had three main ideas: (1) that the United States should build the Panama Canal; (2) that it should gain control of all the islands of approach, both in the Atlantic and the Pacific; and (3) that it should enlarge its navy to equal any other in the world. In order to have his plans carried out, he had only to pass them on to the chief executive and the controlling power in the Senate—his two friends, Roosevelt and Lodge. In the execution of these plans the Platt Amend-



ment, including the granting of a naval station at Guantánamo Bay, was forced upon Cuba. The Panama Canal was begun after Panama had been aided in her revolt against Colombia. Critics who complained about the methods of President Roosevelt with Colombia and the United States Congress in pushing the canal scheme received this reply: "I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate. . . . In actual fact the canal would not have been built at all save for the action I took."

Two years after the canal incident President Roosevelt initiated the policy of intervening in the affairs of various Caribbean countries. Attention should be carefully fixed on this fundamental change in the Monroe Doctrine. President Monroe had not implied that the United States would intervene in Latin America. President Roosevelt said in his message to Congress in 1904, the following: "Chronic wrongdoing or an impotence which results in the general loosening of the ties of civilized society may require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, to the exercise of an international police power."

Interventions began soon after this pronouncement, the first of them financial in nature. United States bankers would make a loan to a Caribbean republic. In order to get the loan the country would agree that the United States Government might appoint its representative to collect the customs and administer the finances of the republic that received the loan. The bankers were thus assured of get-

ting their money back. One of the political parties in the country that had accepted the collector was sure to oppose this foreign interference and start a revolution. When the opposition started a revolt, the United States Government would send armed forces to protect its collector of customs and the financial interests of the New York banks that had made the loan. Thus the Washington collector of customs often brought in his wake armed intervention. Once the marines had landed in a country it was easy to argue that they could be helpful to the country if they would remain to build roads and improve the health of the people. This might seem good to the United States, but it was resented by the country that saw the foreign soldiers on the streets and along the country roads. In 1915 United States marines were landed in Haiti, where they remained in charge of the country until 1934. In 1915 United States marines were landed in the Dominican Republic and remained until 1924. In 1911 United States marines were landed in Nicaragua and remained there until 1932. All in all there were about thirty armed interventions of this kind in Latin America from 1900 to 1932.

**The Mexico Conference (1901-1902).** Good neighborliness was less apparent at the beginning of the twentieth century than ever before. When the Second Pan-American Conference met in Mexico in 1901, there were grave questions regarding the future of Pan-Americanism. Nevertheless, certain advances were made. The Pan American Union was strengthened and its work enlarged. The nations accepted as permanent the principle of

meeting together every four or five years to discuss their problems. A Pan-American railroad, a Pan-American dollar, and better Pan-American steamships were planned. The third conference was called to meet in Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Pan-Americanism faced a serious crisis with the United States dominance of the Caribbean growing rapidly. It was then that the third great American leader of Pan-Americanism, Elihu Root, took his place by the side of Clay and Blaine.

**The Rio de Janeiro Conference (1906).** Elihu Root was the greatest thinker of Theodore Roosevelt's administration. He was well-grounded in international law, and he had an international mind. Because he was not too proud of his part in forcing the Platt Amendment on Cuba, he determined to show his friendship to Latin America. When the tsar of Russia called the second Hague Peace Conference to meet in 1906, Root asked for its postponement because of a probable Pan-American conference in that year. The request was denied. After consulting with his chief, Root said that the United States could not participate in the Hague Conference, for the Secretary of State would at that time be attending the Third Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro. As a result, the Hague Conference was postponed until 1907. Thus there was formed in the Secretary's mind a double scheme. He would break all precedents and go in person to attend the conference at Rio. He would interest the Latin-American representatives in the coming Hague Conference. Then he would ask the Russian government to add these nations to the list of the countries

invited to the Hague. So it happened that the conference at Rio marked not only an advance in Pan-American relations, but also opened to the Latin-American nations a place at the conference table of the countries of the world.

Not since Clay's famous appeal in 1820 had an address on Pan-American questions made such a profound impression as did Root's address to the conference at Rio in 1906.

I bring from my country a special greeting to her elder sister in the civilization of America. We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitle it to as much respect as those of the greatest empire.

Latin Americans hoped that these beautiful words might become the living policy of their great Northern neighbor.

**The Buenos Aires Conference (1910).** The Fourth Pan-American Conference met in Buenos Aires in 1910. That was a great date in American history. One hundred years before, Argentina, Mexico, Venezuela, Chile, and other Latin-American republics had declared their independence from Spain. The conference was largely taken up by the celebration of this great event. Enough time was taken from the gala banquets and fiestas to sign four treaties providing for co-operation in the registration of trade marks, the protection of copyrights, the arbitration of debts, and the interchange of professors and students. An effort was made by Brazil to get the conference to pass a resolution commending the United States



for promulgating the Monroe Doctrine. The conference, however, refused to accept the recommendation. By this time Latin America was quite sure that the original idea of the doctrine as a warning to Europe had now changed into the idea that the United States must assume responsibility for all the nations of the continent.

### **The Santiago Conference (1923).**

The Fifth Pan-American Conference was scheduled to meet at Santiago, Chile, in 1914. In July of that year the first World War began. The American Continent was so divided that no conference could be held in spite of the urgent necessity of taking a common stand in regard to the war in Europe. When the fifth conference finally assembled in 1923, it looked upon a completely new world. The League of Nations had been formed, and Latin-American nations had joined with enthusiasm. Unfortunately the United States had refused to become a member. This drew another line of division between North and South. The meeting, however, registered a number of advances in international organization. Social questions were introduced; health problems were discussed; and the Gondra Peace Treaty, the first pact approved by a Pan-American conference providing for a definite plan to settle peacefully the disputes among American nations, was approved. Uruguay proposed an American League of Nations, but the proposal was defeated. Latin-American delegates next proposed a re-organization of the Pan American Union to give the Latin-American countries a larger

voice in its direction. They advanced only a few degrees in this matter. The conference closed without much enthusiasm for the Pan-American movement.

### **Further Division among Neighbors.**

One of the greatest disappointments of the Latin Americans at Santiago was the announcement by the United States delegates that the Monroe Doctrine was a unilateral, or one-sided doctrine to be interpreted only by the United States. Secretary of State Hughes confirmed this statement of the American delegation in an address given in the United States a few months after the Santiago meeting. In 1927 the Latin Americans became still more concerned when, after having withdrawn the marines from Nicaragua for a few months, President Coolidge sent them back again. Russian Communists were reported as becoming an influence in Nicaragua. President Coolidge declared that wherever there was a citizen of the United States, or property belonging to the United States, there was a section of the United States. He also said: "The legions which she [the United States] sends forth are armed not with the sword but with the cross. She cherishes no purpose save to merit the favors of Almighty God."

### **The Habana Conference (1928).**

The Sixth Pan-American Conference met in Habana in January, 1928. President Coolidge himself attended the opening session. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes headed the United States delegation. Three suggestions were immediately presented by the Latin Americans. The first related to the reorganization of the Pan American

Union. It will be remembered that the Pan American Union started out as a bureau of commercial relations. Later, the Latin Americans desired that it become an American League of Nations, which should arbitrate disputes and take care of other political questions. The United States had always objected to such an enlargement of the union. At Habana the Latin-American countries agreed that the union should not discuss political questions because they were fearful that an organization dominated by the United States would make decisions on political matters following the opinions of the United States.

We have seen that the first question before the Habana conference was: Shall the Pan American Union discuss political affairs? The answer to that was that the union would not be allowed to do so. The second question was: Shall the Pan American Union be given authority to determine economic and tariff questions? The Argentine delegation said that the union could not be of any vital use to the American nations unless it vigorously attacked the question of tariffs and commercial exchange. Mr. Hughes replied that tariffs were the business of each individual country. For the Pan American Union to endeavor to suggest to single nations what their tariff policy should be would wreck the union. The chairman of the Argentine delegation resigned, but the decision not to attempt any tariff adjustments remained. The third question was: Shall the American countries permit the intervention by one nation in the affairs of another American republic? The question

was bitterly debated. The United States delegation defended, and various Latin-American countries attacked the practices of the United States in sending its armed forces into Southern countries. On the final day of the conference, with no possibility of an understanding, it was decided to place this question on the agenda of the next conference, which was scheduled for Montevideo in 1933.

In the year following the Habana conference occurred the crash in Wall Street. The whole scene in the United States changed. No longer were the banks of this country overcrowded with money which they desired to loan to other nations. No longer did this nation believe that it had reached the acme of efficiency in government and the highest place in civilization. All of a sudden the United States faced the same kind of difficulty that other nations had faced. People lost their fortunes overnight. Millions of unemployed filled the streets. A hungry army moved on Washington to demand food and work. Neither the government at Washington nor the ordinary citizen was interested any longer in reforming the rest of the world. Egoism was deflated. We began to think about calling home the marines from the Caribbean republics. We had our own problems to solve. It was under these circumstances that President Franklin D. Roosevelt was inducted into office. It was while the banks of the United States were closed and the country was grappling with fear that the President declared, as already quoted: "I dedicate this country to the policy of the good neighbor."



This again takes us back to the life of the community and the individual. Neighbors that are prosperous may be indifferent to other neighbors. But in mutual suffering the fundamental desire for friendly, neighborly attitudes comes to the surface.

On a cold November afternoon in 1933, a group of delegates sailed out of New York harbor for the eighteen-day trip down to Montevideo. The chairman of the United States delegation was a quiet-voiced, dignified, gray-haired gentleman from Tennessee. His name was Cordell Hull. He had just become Secretary of State. The successor, in Pan-American leadership, of Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, and Elihu Root, he was destined to remain in the game for a long period and to accomplish more than any of the other three. He had very little preparation in diplomacy. But he knew how to win the confidence of his neighbors. He felt profoundly the importance of improving relations on the American Continent as a means of lifting the world out of the depression. The trip down to Montevideo proved to be, in itself, a miniature Pan-American conference. On board were the North American delegates, a large group of newspaper reporters and observers of peace movements, and delegations from various Latin-American countries, including Cuba and Haiti. The United States Government had refused to recognize the Cuban government under President Grau San Martín. United States intervention in Haiti was still in effect. The war between Bolivia and Paraguay over the boundary dispute in the Chaco territory was at its height. The London economic conference had recently

closed with complete failure. The world was in the doldrums. Few people expected the Montevideo gathering to accomplish anything of importance.

### **The Montevideo Conference (1933).**

On arriving at Montevideo, Secretary Hull introduced a new procedure for a United States delegation. Instead of waiting for Latin Americans to call on him, he went out personally to meet the head of each Latin-American delegation. By the time the conference had its opening session, Mr. Hull had won the friendship of the delegations. He began immediately to clear up former misunderstandings. He made it known, first of all, that the United States delegation was not in Montevideo to force the collection of debts. This came as a surprise to the other delegates. Latin-American countries had borrowed immense sums of money from the United States following the first World War. When the depression came and the United States erected higher tariff walls through the Hawley-Smoot bill in 1930, the Latin-American countries found it impossible to pay even the interest on these debts. The fact that the United States delegation at Montevideo did not press this subject greatly surprised the Southerners. Greater was their surprise when Mr. Hull, reversing the declaration of Charles Evans Hughes at Habana, announced that he would like to discuss with the Latin-American countries the question of tariffs. The conference was pleased with this attitude. It passed a recommendation that American countries should enter into agreements for the mutual lowering of tariffs. This proposal, approved by the conference, was after-

ward approved by the United States Congress and thus initiated what later became the famous Hull Trade Agreements (see pages 326-327).

The next important question was the machinery for settling disputes among American countries. Following the Habana meeting in 1928 a conference on arbitration was held at Washington under the leadership of Charles Evans Hughes. Two treaties, one on arbitration and one on conciliation, were adopted. These marked a considerable advance over the Gondra Peace Treaty approved at Santiago in 1923. In 1928 the United States had negotiated with other nations the Briand-Kellogg Peace Pact, which was signed by a number of Latin-American countries. Argentina felt that the pact was too indefinite in the matter of settling disputes, so she initiated the Argentine Peace Pact. Several South American countries had signed this pact just before the meeting at Montevideo. Notwithstanding these five peace treaties, Paraguay and Bolivia were in mortal struggle over the Chaco territory. It was clear that the peace machinery on the American continent was not efficient. Mr. Hull, therefore, worked in co-operation with various other delegations to secure the promise of every American country to sign all five of these peace treaties. The day that the nations made this pledge was one of the highest moments of the Montevideo meeting. Peace efforts were further strengthened by inviting a commission from the League of Nations to be present at a session of this Pan-American conference. Up to this time, the League of Nations and the Pan American Union had

been rivals in their efforts to settle disputes. Someone humorously remarked that the Chaco War would never be settled until the Nobel Peace Prize was abolished. Not only was there rivalry among statesmen as to who would win the peace prize, but the League of Nations and the Pan American Union were also rivals in trying to settle the Chaco dispute. To have these two organizations meet on a common platform, therefore, brought to a new height the effort to arbitrate disputes.

The next important question which the meeting faced was intervention. For the first time in the history of the conferences the matter was frankly discussed. Secretary Hull was not anxious to meet the issue. It had ruined many a diplomat. But he had stated that the conference ought to discuss any problem that was of interest to the American continent. Therefore, he did not attempt to prevent the presentation of a treaty proposed by Cuba on the rights and duties of states. Article Six of this treaty stated very clearly "no nation shall intervene in the internal or external affairs of another nation."

The debate on intervention at the Montevideo conference offered one of the most exciting afternoons in the history of Pan-Americanism. Every delegate was at attention. The visitors' gallery was crowded. The Foreign Office of every American and European country was at attention. The representative of each country answered the roll call with an address on the subject. Delegates from countries that had suffered from the imposition of the armed forces of their Northern neighbor spoke with deep



feeling of the evil of such intervention. The representative from Mexico made a strong appeal to Secretary Hull: "What would your great country lose, Mr. Secretary, if you would now say to Latin America that we need not fear any longer the coming of your soldiers to our lands?" Then Cordell Hull showed himself to be a great man. He ignored his prepared address. He overwhelmed the audience with profound respect for himself and for his nation when he declared: "The United States votes for the treaty."

Not since December 2, 1823, when President Monroe announced the protection of the American continent from European aggression, had there been a greater moment in Pan-American relationships. The currents of a century were changed. The Good Neighbor Policy from that moment became a reality. President Roosevelt immediately backed Mr. Hull's action in an address given on the birthday of Woodrow Wilson. The United States Senate, a few months later, put its stamp of approval on Mr. Hull's bold action by voting to approve the treaty. From that day it became the law of the land. The United States, by its own free will, thus renounced its self-imposed position as policeman on the American continent.

Already the difference between the Seventh Pan-American Conference and the previous ones was evident. In its three-weeks' sessions, it made that mysterious thing called foreign policy. It showed also what one man, with a firm purpose, can do, for several members of Secretary Hull's delegation were against his liberal moves. By reviewing those actions, one rec-

ognizes the fundamental changes made in the Pan-American movement by the gathering in the capital of Uruguay.

First, the United States declared that it would not oppose the discussion of any subject of interest to the American continent. Its delegation had said at Santiago, in 1923, that the conference should not discuss the Monroe Doctrine. At Habana, in 1928, the conference was told that it should not discuss tariffs. In 1933, however, the conference was left free to determine what subjects it would discuss. The conference was informed that the United States delegation did not represent the bankers. Tariffs were admitted as an international subject to be arranged by friendly consultation among the interested nations. Peace machinery should be strengthened in order to stop the Paraguay-Bolivia war and to prevent others. Finally, the United States promised not to send its armed forces again into the territories of its neighbors. This last decision was the greatest of all. It represents a fundamental principle in the development of good relationships among families as well as nations.

**Inter-American Peace Conference (1936).** Neighbor nations in the New World had no sooner begun truly to co-operate than the Old World again threatened them. Just as the old Holy Alliance of absolute monarchies organized against the fledgling republics of a century ago, a new alliance calling itself the Axis, composed of Germany, Italy, and Japan, now arose to threaten the democratic way of life in the Americas. President Franklin D. Roosevelt found himself in the

same situation as was President James Monroe in 1823. Unfortunately, the threat now was much more serious than it was when Prussia, Austria, and Russia faintly cried, "Down with democracy," a hundred years ago.

By 1936 the Axis governments had organized a drive for the control of Latin America through propaganda, exchange of students, and trade concessions. President Roosevelt, conscious of this danger, invited the American republics to meet in special conference at Buenos Aires in December of 1936. The President himself, along with a large delegation headed by Secretary Hull, made the 6,000-mile journey to the capital of Argentina. He opened the meeting and pleaded for a unified defense of democracy. "We have been busy in the past promoting our independence," declared Mr. Roosevelt, "now our great task is the developing of interdependence." During his forty-eight-hour stay in Buenos Aires he was enthusiastically hailed as the "Shepherd of Democracy."

Two new phrases were coined in Buenos Aires, "continental solidarity" and "continental defense." After insisting for many decades that the Monroe Doctrine was unilateral and that the Pan American Union should not be empowered to deal with political questions, the United States now reversed its stand. It insisted that machinery should be created to enable all American republics to unite in mutual defense of their territory. Argentina, the other American country that had been cool toward Pan-American political organization, was not so easily converted. Her minister of foreign affairs had just returned

from Europe. There he had served as president of the Assembly of the League of Nations and had received the Nobel Peace Prize. He contended, as had his country's delegates at the Washington conference in 1889, that nothing should be done that might offend European friends and customers. The proposal of Brazil for the "continentalizing of the Monroe Doctrine"—a pledge by each republic for whole-hearted co-operation to defend the whole continent—was not carried. Secretary Hull, against the demands of other delegations, refused to force the issue. He did not want to divide the conference. An opening wedge for continental co-operation was found by the endorsement of a Convention for the Maintenance of Peace. This timidly suggested the principle of consultation, which was to become effective during the second World War.

Honest differences of opinion concerning Pan-American peace machinery did not prevent a great advance toward understanding and friendship. For the first time a frank, unhurried discussion was conducted about the need for an American League of Nations and an American Court of Justice. The highly explosive questions of the collection of debts and of armaments were amicably debated. The actions taken at Montevideo in regard to non-intervention and the Hull Trade Agreements were reaffirmed and strengthened. The United States definitely entered the program of cultural exchange by preparing a treaty providing for governmental financing of exchange of students and professors. "A Pan-American Moral Code" was adopted at the suggestion of the



Central American republics. This embodied the following principles:

(a) No acquisition of territory through violence shall be recognized

(b) Intervention by one state in the affairs of another state is condemned

(c) Forcible collection of debts is illegal

(d) Disputes between the American nations shall be settled by arbitration.

The spirit of the conference, so different from the old days of constant suspicion, was shown in the spontaneous words of a Cuban delegate on the signing of the first of the five peace pacts:

We see in these agreements not simply a political act of American concord, but the expression of a guiding principle for the future of the world. America by its example inspires the peace of the world. It shows by deed how twenty-one nations can live unitedly within the principle of mutual regard. Here is something superior, something beyond and above ourselves, which is imposed upon us Americans as is a great duty. If in his land, which the modern age has placed in the hands of Western man, we cannot discover formulas of peace for the developing of civilization through the principles of liberty and the decorous behavior of man—well, that would be something which the human mind cannot understand! We, in the act of signing this peace treaty, return to nature the immense riches of this American soil, creator of rights; we comply with the historic law of compensation, returning to God in noble efforts that which God has given to us through these magnificent, heroic, and beautiful lands.

**The Lima Conference.** In November, 1938, Secretary Hull and his delegation again boarded a steamer in New York. This would be his third Pan-American conference. But the

liner was held at the dock until the United States ambassador, hurrying home from Berlin, could come aboard for a conference with the Secretary of State. Germany had thrust itself squarely into the center of the Pan-American picture. The Eighth International Conference of American States was meeting under the shadows cast at Munich a few weeks earlier. For the first time since the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States could no longer count on the British fleet for aid in enforcing the doctrine. Rumor even reported that some of the American countries themselves were about to go over to the Hitler camp. Those were grave days.

"Let us make such a shout for democracy that it will be heard the world around," said Secretary Hull to a friend, as he journeyed to Lima. On arrival at the Peruvian capital, the Secretary continued his custom of calling on the delegates. It was fortunate that most of them were now personal friends, for he needed them in the three strenuous weeks ahead. In these private talks Mr. Hull told the delegates that the totalitarians were planning to attack America. Japan had started by taking over Manchuria, and had then attacked China directly. Mussolini had entered Ethiopia. He was now spreading out along the Mediterranean. Hitler had begun his aggressions by taking Austria, then Czechoslovakia. After this came the European war and its threat to America.

At the opening session Mr. Hull presented his views in a fiery speech, warning of the continent's danger. The Argentine minister of foreign af-

airs, Dr. José María Cantilo, followed. He admitted that America should be united. But he thought no unifying action was needed until there was a clear demonstration that the continent was threatened. The speeches of these two men plainly showed the opposing stands of the United States and Argentina concerning continental unity.

The next day six commissions were appointed to draw up resolutions. They began to work on the questions of the organization of peace, international law, economic problems, political and civil rights of women, intellectual co-operation, and the enlargement of the Pan American Union. The first resolution adopted was a re-affirmation of the principles of the Hull Trade Agreements first adopted at Montevideo. This greatly pleased Mr. Hull. There was feverish excitement pervading the meetings of the Commission on the Organization of Peace. Here the question of continental defense against the attack of the Axis was being debated. The delegations, with the exception of those from southern South America, wanted to take a strong stand against the totalitarians and their fifth-column activities. Argentina, however, with her doctrine of universality, refused to accept anything but a promise to consult if and when inter-American peace should be threatened.

**A Document and a Milestone.** During the last week of the conference every day was supposed to bring the signature to the Lima Declaration of American Principles. At last, at nearly nine o'clock of the last evening, the final session was called to order, and the Lima Declaration was read and

signed. This document declared that the American continent, united by spiritual ties and a common devotion to democracy, would co-operate in the defense of the continent if any part of it were attacked. The vague agreement for consultation made at Buenos Aires in 1936 was strengthened. This was done by a provision that the ministers of foreign affairs of the American republics would meet for consultation at any time they should feel it necessary for the protection of the continent. The Lima Declaration, with its inauguration of a plan for political action, is the most important document adopted by the American nations during their century of conferences. The following points, slightly edited, are the most important parts of the famous Declaration of American Principles:

The peoples of America have achieved spiritual unity through the similarity of their republican institutions, their unshakable will for peace, their profound sentiment of humanity and tolerance and through their absolute adherence to the principles of international law, of equal sovereignty of States and of individual liberty, without religious or racial prejudices.

On the basis of such principles, they seek and defend the peace of the continent and work together in the cause of universal concord.

In case the peace, security, or territorial integrity of any American republic is threatened by acts of any nature that may imperil them, they proclaim their common concern and their determination to make effective their solidarity, co-ordinating their respective sovereign wills by means of procedure of consultation established by conventions in force and by declarations of inter-American conferences, using measures which in each case circumstances may make advisable.

In order to facilitate consultations estab-



lished in this and other American peace instruments, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the American republics, when deemed advisable and at the initiative of any of them, will meet for consultation in one of their several capitals.

While discussion concerning continental solidarity overwhelmed the Lima meeting, interest in the many-sided Pan-American movement was demonstrated at every turn.

**The Panama Consultation.** War in Europe was to prove the vitality of the promise of all the American republics to hold consultations if the safety of the continent were endangered. Adolf Hitler marched on Poland, September 2, 1939. Three weeks later the ministers of foreign affairs of all the twenty-one republics, or their representatives, had arrived by airplane in Panama. Never before had an inter-American conference taken such swift, united, decisive steps toward continental solidarity. During the first World War the continent was so divided that no conference was held. This gathering at Panama initiated a new kind of inter-American conference called the meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American States. According to the Lima Declaration these meetings might be called at the request of any one of the foreign ministers. They might consider any problem connected with the defense of the continent. In other words, the Monroe Doctrine had finally come to be the concern of all twenty-one republics. The Nazi threat seemed, in one way, to have served America. About this time a Latin-American ambassador at Washington humorously remarked that a statue to Adolf Hitler should be

erected in the Pan American Union, because he had compelled the American nations to unite!

The Panama meeting in 1939 was the beginning of a new demonstration of this unity. It was to grow rapidly in the next few years. Three important actions were taken at Panama. First, all the twenty-one nations declared their neutrality in regard to the European conflict. To enforce this neutrality, a "safety zone" was outlined around the continent, on an average of about three hundred miles from shore, within which belligerents were requested not to bring their fighting. South American countries had suggested this action in the first World War. With the newly acquired unity it became a continental policy. As Brazil said, the fact that such a zone was not accepted by the European belligerents does not lessen its importance as a new application of the Monroe Doctrine. The Panama meeting appointed two permanent committees: The Inter-American Neutrality Committee, to consider questions related to America's neutrality, which soon began regular sessions in Rio de Janeiro; and the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee, with representation from each of the twenty-one republics, which soon began its weekly meetings at the Pan American Union building in Washington. It has become one of the most continuously vigorous organizations in the Pan-American system.

**Dunkirk Leads to Habana.** In less than a year after the Panama Consultation Meeting, the European war moved into a new stage. Germany conquered France and Holland. Eng-





*Photo by James Sawders*

**Secretary of State Cordell Hull persuades the Pan-American Congress, held in Habana, July 21–30, 1940, to unite against the Axis Powers.**

land was threatened. All three of these countries had American colonies. Curaçao and two other islands north of Venezuela belonged to Holland. They were dangerously near the Panama Canal. Martinique and a chain of French islands were in strategic positions in the Caribbean. Jamaica, Trinidad, and British Honduras, all belonging to England, all bore a strategic relationship to the American Continent. So also did Dutch, French, and British Guiana. What would happen if Hitler, having

conquered the mother countries, were to demand that all of these possessions be turned over to him?

Again Cordell Hull and the other ministers of foreign affairs made a hurried trip to consult together. This time they met at Habana, July 21 to 30, in 1940. The heat was trying. But results were satisfactory for the Monroe Doctrine was again saved, and Pan-American peace machinery was expanded. Two important decisions were made. The Act of Habana provided that an Inter-American Com-

mission be organized to take over, for provisional administration, all European possessions in the Americas, in the event that they were in danger of being transferred to any other nation outside of America. In former times the United States would have handled this whole matter without consultation with the other American republics. But in 1940 it was not so. Our neighbors had been taken into partnership in the defense of the continent. In this connection a similar Pan-American gesture should be recalled in reference to an arrangement between the United States and Great Britain. When the latter nation turned over to the United States eight military bases in the Atlantic in exchange for fifty-four United States destroyers, the Washington government immediately announced that these bases would be open to all American republics as well as to the United States.

The second action at Habana was to prove of greatest importance in the light of later events. This was the declaration that:

Any attempt on the part of a non-American state against the integrity . . . or political independence of an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against the states which sign this declaration.

Many citizens of the United States and other American republics gave Secretary Hull and his colleagues little credit for such theoretical preparation for joint defense of the continent. Attack on America by an outside foe was impossible, they thought. But a rude awakening came on the quiet Sunday morning of December 7, 1941. Thousands of United States citizens

were killed, battleships were sunk, and aircraft were destroyed when the Japanese swept swiftly down on peaceful Pearl Harbor.

The shock extended all over the continent. Little Costa Rica, whose position near the Canal Zone gave her a strategic importance far beyond her size, declared war on the Axis before the United States Congress could assemble for such a purpose. The five Central American republics followed suit. Mexico, Colombia, and Venezuela at once broke diplomatic relations with the Axis. At the request of Chile the Pan American Union called the third meeting of the American ministers of foreign affairs, in Rio de Janeiro, January 15 to 30, 1942.

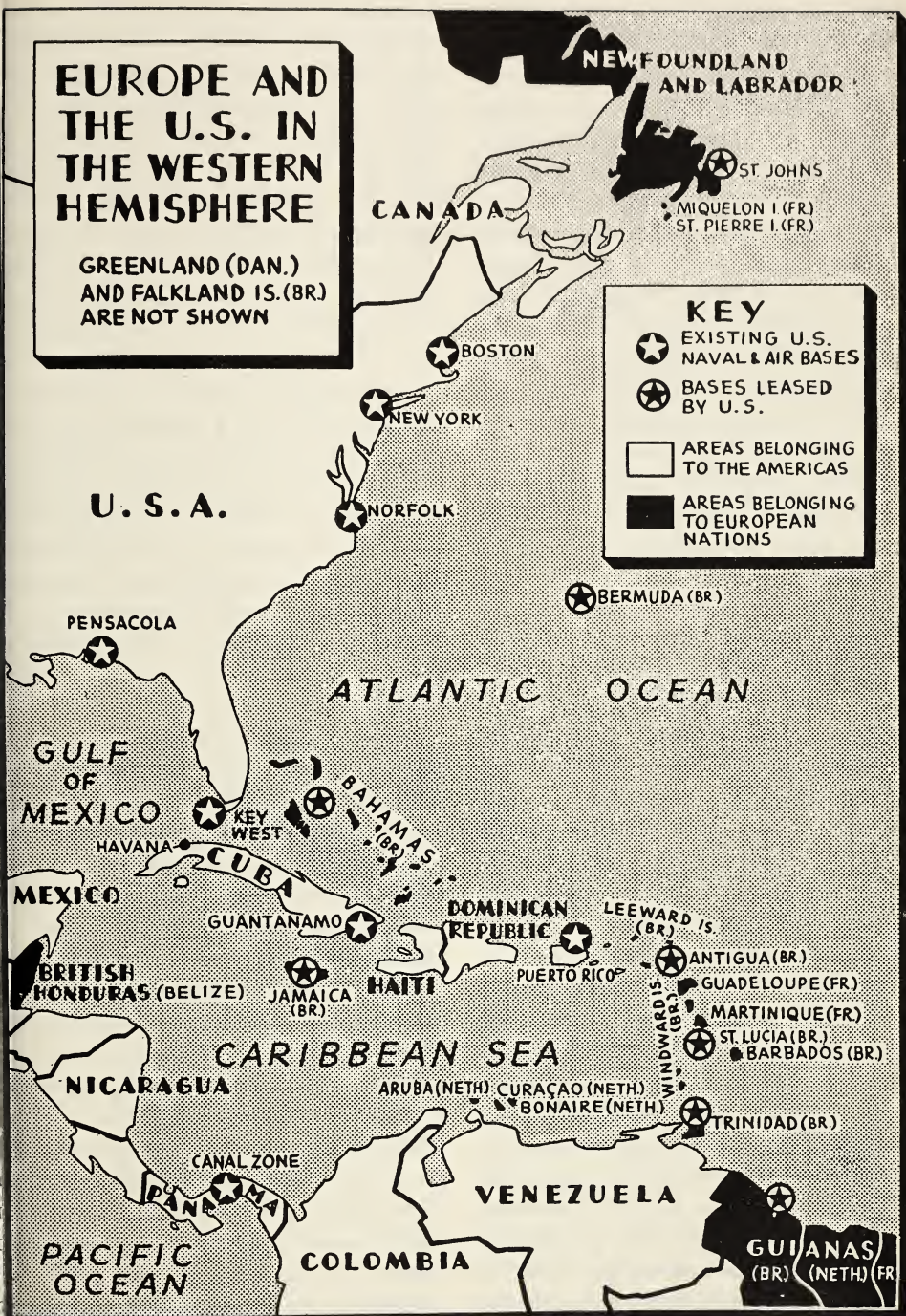
**The Rio de Janeiro Meeting.** "The men who have fallen in Wake and the Philippines . . . have not fallen only to defend the honor and sovereignty of the United States. They have also fallen to defend the human liberties and the common destinies of America." So spoke Mexico's minister of foreign affairs, Ezequiel Padilla, at the opening session of the third meeting of ministers of foreign affairs at Rio de Janeiro, January 15 to 28, 1942. Continuing, he pleaded for a continental organization "not only of an economy but at the same time of an American moral entity, so that we will be able to prove that we are not only interested in the construction of shipyards and airplanes, but also in the development and progress of the free men of America."

The cause of international government received a great lift at the Rio meeting. Provision was made for pooling the economic life of the United



# EUROPE AND THE U.S. IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

GREENLAND (DAN.)  
AND FALKLAND IS. (BR.)  
ARE NOT SHOWN



## KEY

- ★ EXISTING U.S. NAVAL & AIR BASES
- ★ BASES LEASED BY U.S.
- AREAS BELONGING TO THE AMERICAS
- AREAS BELONGING TO EUROPEAN NATIONS

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States and Latin America in order to win the war. Every American republic pledged itself to hemisphere defense. Plans were made for tropical America to furnish the supplies lately cut off by the Japanese invasion of the East Indies. The total output of the strategic raw materials of Latin America was to go to the United States, and all former supplies of such materials were to be cut off from the Axis. Five hundred thousand tons of new shipping were provided for the United States and her allies by taking over the Axis ships interned in Latin America. The Rio meeting tied up Axis funds in America. It advanced a movement to eliminate tariffs on all defense materials during the war. This is a step taken toward the organization of an inter-American customs union. There was also a movement toward the development of a common Pan-American trade dollar for the continent. Provision was made for the financing and rushing to completion of the Pan-American Highway. The meeting approved a sweeping program of public works that means new business for every one of the American republics.

At Rio, in 1942, representatives from every nation were present. Before the Rio conference had adjourned, Brazil, Uruguay, Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador announced that they had given orders to Axis diplomats to haul down their flags, close their embassies, and leave for home. This left only Chile and Argentina waiting to decide definitely whether they would break relations with the Axis. These two South American countries had already given real aid to the cause of the United Nations by

declaring that the United States should not be treated as a belligerent, and should receive the total supply of their products needed for the war effort. Chile broke relations with the Axis early in 1943. But Argentina held out until January, 1944, before severing connections with the Axis.

The delegates at the Rio meeting piled one action on top of the other in their efforts to back the democracies. They reiterated the declaration that an aggression against one American country was an aggression against all. They declared that no American nation would re-establish relations with the Axis without consulting with her sister republics. The Pan American Union was strengthened and suggestions were made for the calling of a conference to plan a Pan-American postwar program.

During the conference at Rio the boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador, which had been threatening continental peace, was settled. At the same time Bolivia agreed to pay for the oil fields she had confiscated from the Standard Oil Company. The United States announced that seventy-five of her experts on health and tropical agriculture were ready to begin work on the development of the Amazon Valley. The most remarkable of all the mutually helpful agreements was the one made with Mexico. This involved the settlement of the claims of North American citizens for the expropriation by Mexico of agricultural and petroleum properties. These claims had been the cause of suspicion and threats of war between the two countries for a quarter of a century. Mexico agreed to pay a minimum sum to the owners of the prop-

erties. The United States agreed to aid Mexico in establishing a steel mill, in finishing her share of the Pan-American Highway, and in improving her railroads so that needed raw products could be more quickly rushed across the border. The Rio meeting unanimously endorsed the Atlantic Charter, in which President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had stated the war aims of the democracies. These included the acquiring of no conquered territory, no superimposed government by foreign powers, free access by all States, great or small, to the trade and raw materials of the world, improved labor standards, and a wider system to guarantee peace and "to afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

#### THE PAN-AMERICAN SYSTEM TODAY

We have followed the ups and downs, the achievements and the failures of American neighbors in a century of effort to build a neighborhood. We have watched the enthusiasm for the movement among Latin Americans and their failure because of divisions among themselves. We have seen the United States start out with the Monroe Doctrine, turn it into the doctrine of manifest destiny, then into imperialism and money diplomacy. But it was now to change into modern democracy. Driven by the sufferings of a world depression and the second World War, we have witnessed the most remarkable change ever recorded in history in the foreign policy of a great nation. In seven short years the United States completely reversed its policy toward the

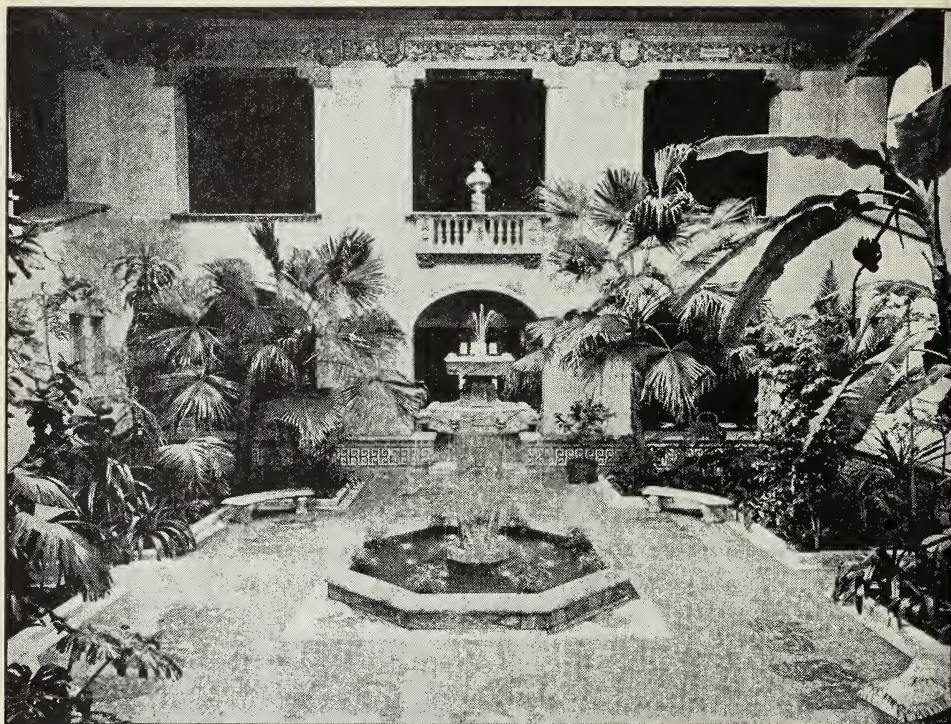
other American republics. Many of the old prejudices still remain. The overwhelming number of both North Americans and Latin Americans are ignorant and indifferent in regard to the real meaning of Pan-Americanism. But enough of the dreams of Simón Bolívar and Henry Clay have been realized for us now to pause for another appraisal.

On April 17, 1940, the Pan American Union celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. On this occasion President Roosevelt declared:

This success in Pan-American co-operation in the Western Hemisphere is sometimes attributed to good fortune. I do not share that view. There are not wanting here all of the usual rivalries, all of the normal human desires for power and expansion, all of the commercial problems . . . What was it that has protected us from the tragic involvements which are today making the Old World a new cockpit of old struggles? The answer is easily found . . . a new and powerful ideal . . . that of a community of nations . . . Gradually it brought together the Pan-American group of governments. If that process can be successful here, is it too much to hope that a similar intellectual process may succeed elsewhere?

One of the most popular spots in Washington, D. C., is the impressive home of the Pan American Union. Delegations of young people from schools in all parts of America are among the delighted visitors. The very architecture of the building is an expression of inter-American understanding. Coming through the front door, one enters the large patio, with its bubbling fountain, its brilliantly colored parrots, and the monuments to great Pan-American leaders like Bolívar, San Martín, and Henry Clay. Ascending the stairs, one finds the





*Photo from Acme*

The patio of the Pan American Union building in Washington, D. C., is suggestive, in architectural design and ornamentation, of Latin America.

Hall of the Americas, where notable American gatherings are held. On the first floor is the imposing library, with newspapers and books from all Latin America. On this same floor are the offices of the various sections and the great relief map of the continent, around which a crowd of students is always gathered.

**Functions of the Pan American Union.** The Pan American Union is the international organization created by the twenty-one American republics for the purpose of promoting friendly intercourse, peace, and commerce between those nations. Its affairs are directed by a governing board composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the twenty diplomatic rep-

resentatives from the Latin-American republics. It is supported by contributions from all the countries in amounts proportionate to population. The secretariat numbers some one hundred twenty-five persons. The annual budget is around \$300,000. It draws its authority from the official Pan-American conferences and serves as their permanent organ, carrying out the instructions given by the governments through these conferences. Its functions have been gradually enlarged until the union is looked upon as the clearing house of practically all official inter-American business. It is the hub of the Pan-American movement. Activities are carried on under the following divisions: foreign trade,



statistics, finance, agricultural co-operation, labor, juridical questions, travel, intellectual co-operation, and music. The union has no constitution. Member states can withdraw at any time they so desire.

**How the Pan-American Conference Works.** It is a mistake, however, to consider the Pan American Union as an American League of Nations. It has no power, as the Geneva League of Nations had, to settle disputes among nations. Its work is limited to distributing information about the American republics, and to acting as the secretariat of the official Pan-American conferences. These conferences have reserved for themselves the real power to deal with Pan-American problems. They meet on an average of every five years. They are not held together by any written constitution or treaty agreement. They carry on proceedings by working through commissions on such subjects as organization of peace, juridical questions, economic problems, social questions, and cultural exchange. Major agreements are usually expressed in treaties. Declarations and resolutions also express the desires of these conferences, which are referred for their execution either to the various participating governments or to the Pan American Union. The first of this series of meetings, usually called Pan-American Conferences, took place in Washington in 1889-1890.

Besides the regular Pan-American conferences, there have been set up special organizations which remain under the direct control of the co-operating governments and are not placed under the Pan American Union. The most important of these

is the machinery for consultation which provides for meetings of ministers of foreign affairs. The three meetings so far held under this provision, adopted at the Eighth Pan-American Conference, provided three special standing commissions: (1) Inter-American Neutrality Committee, (2) Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Commission, and (3) Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration. Other of the important bodies previously appointed include the Pan-American Highway Financial Commission and the Commission of Experts for the Codification of International Law.

**Co-operation through Peace Treaties.** Eleven inter-American peace treaties have been approved for arbitration, conciliation, and mediation for the settlement of inter-American disputes. The fact that none of these treaties has been adopted by all of the American countries marks a weakness in the American peace system.

**Economic Co-operation.** From the beginning of the Pan-American conferences, economic questions have been prominent. The greatest progress in these matters has been made through special conferences of economic experts. At the Seventh Conference in 1933 Secretary Cordell Hull introduced his plan for trade agreements, providing for the reduction of tariffs and the elimination of other trade barriers. During the second World War machinery for economic co-operation was greatly expanded.

**Social and Health Problems.** Co-operation in this field is maintained through the well-organized Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, with headquarters in the Pan American Union

building in Washington; the International Institute for the Protection of Childhood, with headquarters in Montevideo; the Inter-American Institute of Leprosy, Rio de Janeiro; the Inter-American Commission of Women, Washington; and numerous other official and unofficial organizations. The International Labor Office is becoming increasingly effective in serving the American republics in this field.

**Cultural Exchange.** The Pan-American conferences have recommended an elaborate program for cultural exchange. This includes provision for exchange of professors and students, rewriting of history texts, preservation of national monuments, and exchange of art, music, and radio programs. Educational conferences have been fostered by the Pan American Union, which maintains important activities through its division on intellectual co-operation.

It will be seen that the Pan-American Peace Organization is working under six different headings. Unlike the League of Nations these are not bound together in one organization. The fear of entrusting too large responsibilities to the Pan American Union has led the governments to set up their own machinery outside of the union, for the purpose of carrying out certain schemes for economic, social, and cultural interchange.

The weakness of the Pan-American system is found in the unwillingness of the governments to place it upon a permanent basis. The American re-

publics have not yet come to know each other well enough completely to trust each other. The economic interests of each republic have not yet been so thoroughly co-ordinated with those of the other republics that all are willing to enter into a vital unity. Progress during recent years, however, gives hope for still further advance.

**Inter-American Association of Nations.** The high tide of neighborliness was reached at a time when all American republics had to defend themselves against the Axis. The pessimists had been claiming that there was no real kinship between North America and Latin America. They said that Southerners really preferred Europe to the United States; that they preferred dictatorship to democracy; that they liked to trade with Europe, but not with the United States. But in the crucible of war the neighbors showed the three characteristics emphasized by Franklin D. Roosevelt, James Monroe, and Simón Bolívar—natural friendliness, neighborly organization for mutual help, and resistance to foreign aggression. President Alfonso López of Colombia, on his visit to Washington in July, 1942, said that favorable circumstances like these should be seized to inaugurate a real American Association of Nations. Such an association is needed to make permanent the recent developments in the political, economic and cultural fields of continental co-operation. It could be consummated by making more effective the various Pan-American organizations now in existence.

**Words and Terms to Learn**

Pan American Union	manifest destiny
continental solidarity	sanctity of agreements
mediation	unilateral doctrine
conciliation	bilateral doctrine
imperialism	Hague Peace Conference
Good Neighbor Policy	

**Persons to Identify**

Henry Clay	Henry Cabot Lodge
James G. Blaine	Élihu Root
Admiral Mahan	Charles Evans Hughes
Theodore Roosevelt	Cordell Hull

**Learning through Discussion**

1. Explain the author's use of the metaphor of a triangle to describe the international relations of the American continent. Why, since 1939, has the north-south line been the most important one?
2. Explain two cases in which Spain tried to regain control of parts of her former empire. Did she succeed?
3. Discuss British-United States rivalries in Latin America in the nineteenth century.
4. What was the most important case of French intervention in the Western Hemisphere? Do you know what policy of the United States it violated and what action this government took against it?
5. How did Germany first begin to show an active interest in Latin America? What happened as a result of the Venezuelan incident?
6. List the four obstacles to neighborly feeling in this hemisphere. Can you give an example of each one?
7. Summarize in simple terms the doctrines of inter-American co-operation advocated by Bolívar, Monroe, and Franklin D. Roosevelt.
8. What part did Henry Clay play in the development of Pan-Americanism?
9. How was the Monroe Doctrine received in Latin America when it was announced?
10. What was achieved by the First American Congress in 1826? Why was the United States not represented?
11. What event marked the beginning of Latin-American distrust and fear of the United States?
12. What was the main purpose of the Second American Congress? Why did the United States not attend?
13. What was the chief problem facing the Fourth American Congress held in 1865? Why was the United States not represented?
14. What were James G. Blaine's purposes in calling the Pan-American Conference of 1889? Did he succeed in these purposes? What was the practical result of the meeting?



15. What was the aim of the trio—Theodore Roosevelt, Lodge, and Mahan? What part did each play in achieving that aim?
16. Explain the change that Theodore Roosevelt made in the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Give one example of his idea in action.
17. What was Elihu Root's contribution to Pan-Americanism in 1906–1907?
18. Contrast Secretary Hughes's stand on intervention in 1928 with that of Secretary Hull in 1933. How do you explain the change?
19. Discuss the advances in inter-American unity and understanding that were achieved at Montevideo in 1933.
20. What did the Rio de Janeiro meeting of 1942 achieve as to: (1) relations with the Axis, (2) Latin America's raw materials, (3) the Pan-American Highway, and (4) the boundary dispute between Peru and Ecuador?
21. Give three examples of the work of the Pan American Union today. Why is it not a stronger permanent body?

### Learning through Maps

1. Point out on a map the trouble spots of Latin America and indicate the places where the United States has intervened.
2. On an outline map locate the places in the New World which became danger zones because of possible transfer following the Hitler conquests of 1940.
3. On your outline map locate the naval bases of the United States.

### Projects and Problems

1. Locate on a time line the following dates which mark important events in the operation of the Monroe Doctrine: 1823, 1861, 1894, 1904, 1912, 1930. (Let each inch represent a period of twenty years.)
2. Acting as a radio commentator, give an imaginary broadcast to the United States from Panama in 1826, describing the congress being held in that city.
3. As a reporter who attended the Pan-American conferences in Habana in 1928 and in 1940, write an article showing the differences between the two meetings.
4. Report on motion pictures you have seen that contribute to or work against a friendly relationship between Latin America and the United States.
5. Interview a Latin-American student or visitor, or, if none is available, a North American who is conversant with Pan-American affairs, on ways to improve inter-American understanding.
6. Be prepared to support your opinion of the following statements:
  - (a) The Monroe Doctrine, which implies nonintervention in European affairs, should be adhered to today as it was stated in 1823.
  - (b) The United States should immediately expand its loans in Latin American countries in order to provide more rapid economic self-sufficiency even if present United States exports to Latin America should fall off.
  - (c) The United States should eliminate all tariffs and other restrictions on imports from the other Americas.

7. Plan a panel discussion on "Dollar Diplomacy" of the United States, using Haiti, Nicaragua, or the Dominican Republic as an example.

8. Prepare a round-table discussion on the Pan-American movement, giving consideration to the following points:

- (a) Position of the United States in 1826
- (b) Pan-Americanism as conceived by James G. Blaine
- (c) Procedure of Woodrow Wilson concerning Latin America
- (d) The Good Neighbor Policy

9. Conduct a debate on the question: *Resolved:* That the United States is wise in helping to industrialize Latin America.

10. Write a radio script, showing the contributions of each of the four outstanding friends of the Pan-American movement—Henry Clay, James G. Blaine, Elihu Root, Cordell Hull. (Your local radio station might broadcast this in dramatic form, if it is well enough prepared.)



## XVIII. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The economic importance of the Southern countries to the rest of the world is assured, both because of what they produce and because of what they buy. With nearly three times the area of the United States and about an equal population, the possibilities of growth are great. This, of course, should mean larger opportunities for foreign markets. Even without an enlarged population, rising living standards will increase purchases of foreign goods. The contention of Mexican leaders for several years has been that support of the social program to improve conditions of the peons would mean the opening of immense markets for the sale of American goods to those who begin to wear shoes, sleep on beds, ride in busses, listen to radios, and use modern sanitary equipment.

### LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE

For convenience in our thinking, the economic development of Latin America may be separated into five divisions: (1) the colonial period, when all domestic and foreign commerce was carried on for the benefit of the mother countries; (2) the period of independence, when the economy of these countries was dominated by foreign capital and by the owners of the great landed estates, with production concentrated on one or two products; (3) the period following the World War of 1914-1918, when

the new nationalism spurred the people to more manufacturing, to a diversification of crops, and to restrictions on foreign capital; (4) the recent era, initiated by the German barter system, with political motives dominating trade relations; and (5) the period of the second World War, when commerce was largely with the United States.

**Foreign Trade.** In foreign trade Latin America is important primarily because of its capacity to produce vast quantities of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials. It is the richest raw-material-producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power. About half of all Latin-American exports consists of seven commodities, coffee, corn, copper, meats, sugar, wheat, and wool. Most of the other exports consist of cacao, hides, bananas, linseed, petroleum, cotton, and tin.

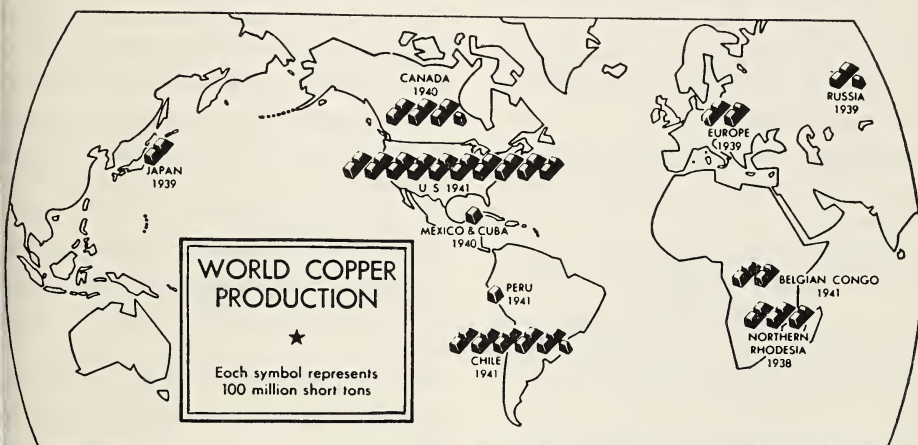
**Trade between Latin-American Nations.** Difficulties of transportation between Latin-American countries themselves have prevented expansive commercial exchange in the past. Of their total foreign commerce only about 7 per cent has been among themselves. However, this situation is now changing with the developing of manufacturing in certain countries and the difficulties of selling raw materials to

Europe following the outbreak of war in 1939. Under an epoch-making treaty signed by Argentina and Brazil in October, 1940, Argentina is to furnish Brazil with a large amount of wheat and other raw products, in exchange for rubber goods, coffee, and wool.

Mexico recently sent several trade missions to her Southern neighbors and as a result considerably increased her sales of petroleum and other prod-

other individual country, Europe, as a whole, has enjoyed a larger trade with Latin America than any other continent. This can be seen by the following figures for 1938:

Areas	Exports (per cent)	Imports (per cent)
Europe (excluding U.S.S.R.)	54.4	43.6
North America	31.2	35.0
Asia	1.4	4.7
Other areas	7.1	6.7



*Pictograph Corporation for the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs*

ucts. Peru and Chile, following the settlement of the Tacna and Arica question, have greatly increased their trade, Chile sending manufactured goods and nitrate to Peru in exchange for sugar and cotton.

An important move was the meeting of the First Regional Conference of the Rio de la Plata countries, as the result of which, on February 6, 1941, nine agreements were signed to expedite trade among the participating countries: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

**Trade with Europe.** While Latin America's trade with the United States considerably exceeds that with any

It is important to remember (1) that Europe's trade is largely with southern Latin America, while the United States dominates the Caribbean area; (2) that Europe buys more from Latin America than it sells to her. A difficult problem is created for countries that depend on export business when war, depression, or some other cause suddenly cuts down their sales. During the first World War Great Britain and Germany lost heavily, and the United States assumed the leadership.

**German Drive for Trade.** During the world depression following 1929, all foreign trade slumped. In Latin



America the lowest figure was reached in 1932, when exports of the United States to the twenty republics amounted only to \$98,500,000 and British exports to only \$100,400,000. It was then that Germany began her tremendous trade drive in Latin America. The government itself took charge of the drive and used it for political ends.

**Financial Support from the United States.** To combat the German menace, the United States used a new kind of institution which it had set up during the depression to aid our exporters. That institution was the Export-Import Bank.

**Functions of the Export-Import Bank.** The functions which the Bank was intended to perform were : (1) to aid United States exporters in trading with Latin-American countries; (2) to stabilize the currencies of these nations; and (3) to finance industrial development in Latin America.

Exporters in the United States were paid for their sales in Latin America by the bank. The purchasing countries could repay the sum on long, liberal terms. Thus our exporters were able to withstand the competition of the Nazi-subsidized barter trade. In line with this we stepped up, even if not always sufficiently as yet, our purchases from the debtor countries in order to provide them with the dollars with which to repay our loans.

One of the reasons why trade by barter made headway in Latin-American countries was that the value of their money abroad was very uncertain. They could hardly trade elsewhere but in countries like Germany,

which under the barter system traded goods for goods and neither had nor demanded highly stable money.

The weakness of Latin-American currencies was another source of trouble. They kept all valuable foreign currencies, such as dollars, in their countries by so-called "exchange control." Thus private investors from the United States were unable to convert their profits into cash and withdraw their dollars from the debtor countries. The Export-Import Bank earmarked, or set aside for the purpose of stabilizing their currencies, a large part of the credit it had extended to Latin-American countries. As soon as these countries had dollar balances available, they could use those to back up and strengthen their own currencies. Then they could trade outside of Germany, and especially with the United States, on the value of their money.

The third function of the bank was to finance industrial development in Latin America. Loans for that purpose were on the whole small, and the soundness of the investments was closely scrutinized. In contrast to former loans by private banks, these new government loans were not given in the hope of high-interest rates or special concessions.

**The Record of the Export-Import Bank.** The Export-Import Bank introduced a new era in international banking. The government itself went into the business of lending money abroad. The record of these loans has been singularly good.

**The Hull Trade Agreements.** In the same year, 1934, in which Congress approved the establishment of the Export-Import Bank, it approved the

Hull Trade Agreement Act, which Secretary Hull had suggested at the Montevideo Congress a year previous.

This act provided that the State Department in conjunction with other departments of the executive branch of the government would be given the right to negotiate tariff rates with another government for the mutual benefit of the trade of both countries. After thorough discussion at home the experts of the two countries would meet in one of the capitals and for weeks or months discuss how the tariffs of hundreds of items might be adjusted so as to improve trade and at the same time not do injustice to the business interests of either country. After long discussions, where each side was watching its own interests, the tariffs were fixed and put into effect by public announcement. No changes were permitted beyond 50 per cent of the former rates. Agreements were subject to new negotiations at any time either party requested such consideration.

Something of this process of "reciprocal tariffs" was suggested by Secretary James G. Blaine at the First Pan-American Conference in 1889. Between the time the Hull plan was adopted in 1934 and 1943, such trade agreements had been made with sixteen different Latin-American republics, and had resulted in improved trade with each of them. The greatest triumph of this plan came in 1941, when the United States and Argentina succeeded in coming to an agreement. This showed that when economic experts rather than politicians work on such problems, a surprising number of ways can be found to increase trade without harming either country.

With its liberal economic measures, such as the Hull Trade Agreements and the Export-Import Bank, the Good Neighbor Policy had borne fruit. After the outbreak of war, trade increased in spite of the loss of markets on the European continent. More loans and even Lease-Lend equipment have been extended to Latin-American countries that are playing a vital role in the war effort. When essential supplies from the Far East and elsewhere were cut off, the American republics became dependent on one another for existence, for defense, and for the success of the Allies. The supply of essential raw materials, all-out production, and hemispheric co-operation then became a matter of life and death.

#### THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF LATIN AMERICA

The United States relies heavily on Latin-American countries for raw materials that are not produced at home, or that can be produced more cheaply in those countries. Fine steel in the United States could not be manufactured without the manganese that is shipped in from Cuba and Brazil. Bauxite from the Guianas provides aluminum. Tungsten for filaments in our electric lamps, formerly obtained from China and Burma, must now come from Latin-American deposits. Cuban chromium for auto bearings and nickel for armor plates, Bolivian tin, Chilean copper, Mexican copper and zinc are essential both in peace time and in war. The need for rubber from Brazil, quinine from Peru, nitrates and iodine from Chile is self-evident. In addition to these key products there is a long list of foodstuffs



and other basic raw materials that we receive in great quantities from Latin America. The most important of these are sugar, wool, coffee, bananas, hides and skins, cacao, and oil. In time of war many products are so greatly needed that in the first six months of 1941 the United States imported more from Latin America than it did during all of 1938.

The Southern republics are important not only in what they produce but also in what they buy. The United States is the best seller of manufactured goods to Latin America. Even in peace time about 40 per cent of all dairy products, flour, railway equipment, cotton and rayon, electric equipment, iron and steel, and other machinery that we export goes to Latin America. In time of war we also supply munitions, guns, tanks, and planes to our Latin-American allies. Inter-American unity is, therefore, an economic necessity.

**The Problem of Competition in the Americas.** On the whole, with the exception of the most southern of the countries, notably Argentina, the United States and Latin America have a complementary economy. Latin America furnishes raw materials and in exchange receives manufactured goods from the United States. Does not the United States also produce raw materials? The answer is that it does, but certain goods cannot be produced at home, some are not produced in sufficient quantities, and others can be produced more cheaply in Latin America.

The climates of Latin America and the United States are also complementary. While we raise the crops of the temperate zone, Latin America

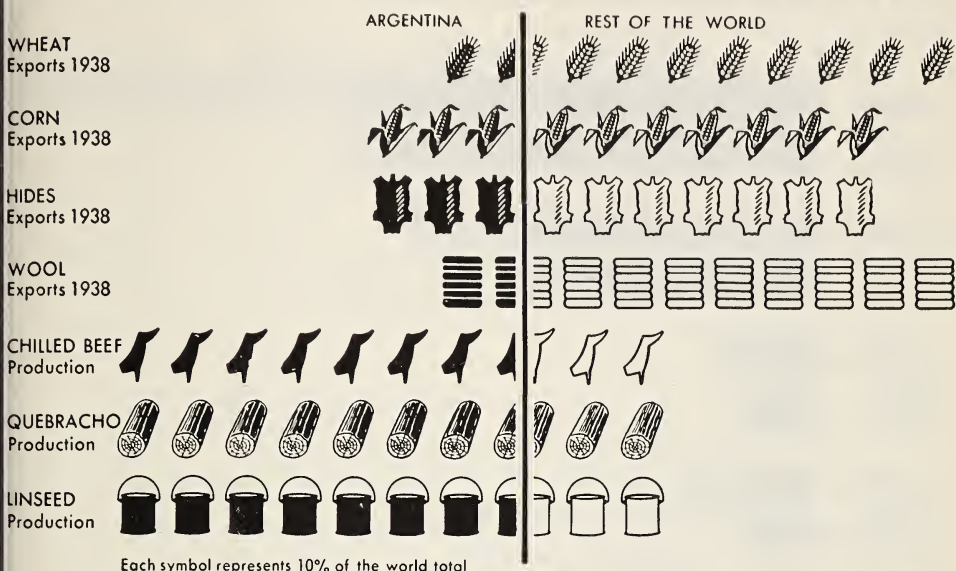
produces many tropical products. Likewise the seasons are reversed. For example, both Argentina and the United States raise apples and grapes but in opposite seasons of the year.

Latin America, however, extends from the tropics to cold Patagonia; many of the twenty republics produce different goods, have diverse economies. Of the three largest Latin-American republics Mexico is our closest neighbor, sending, on an average, 65 per cent of her foreign trade to the United States. The opposition of our investors to the social and national program of the Mexican government at one time formed a great barrier to trade. The crisis of the 1940's saw the neighbor countries joined in wholehearted co-operation. As old differences show promising signs of settlement, Mexico's contribution in vital minerals and oils is being multiplied with the assistance of United States credit and the advice of experts.

Lying almost entirely in the tropical zone, Brazil raises products the United States needs. The United States in turn manufactures goods which Brazil likes. Brazil raises coffee, the people of the United States drink it. She needs railroads, highway-building equipment, machines to conquer her remote West and to develop her industries. The United States can sell all that. Brazilian-United States friendship is traditional; it is reflected by Brazil's active participation in the second World War.

Brazil is a good example of a nationalistic economy that is becoming organized on a continental basis. She has the largest iron-ore deposits in the world; the United States loaned the

## ARGENTINA...A WORLD LEADER IN MANY PRODUCTS



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capital to launch her steel industry. She will produce low-grade steel cheaply and in great quantities; this will complement the fine-grade steel produced by the United States.

Argentina is the most industrialized country in Latin America. Her climate and products resemble those of the United States. Still there are important bases for exchange trade: the United States needs quebracho (a wood used in dyeing), hides, and flaxseed; Argentina wants automobiles, binders, and other machines.

Argentina is a great producer of wheat and meat, both of which the United States has a surplus of—at least in peacetime. Argentina has long resented the exclusion of her canned beef from the United States. Such protectionism, advocated by the meat interests in the United States, has done great damage to United States-Argentine friendship. On the whole,

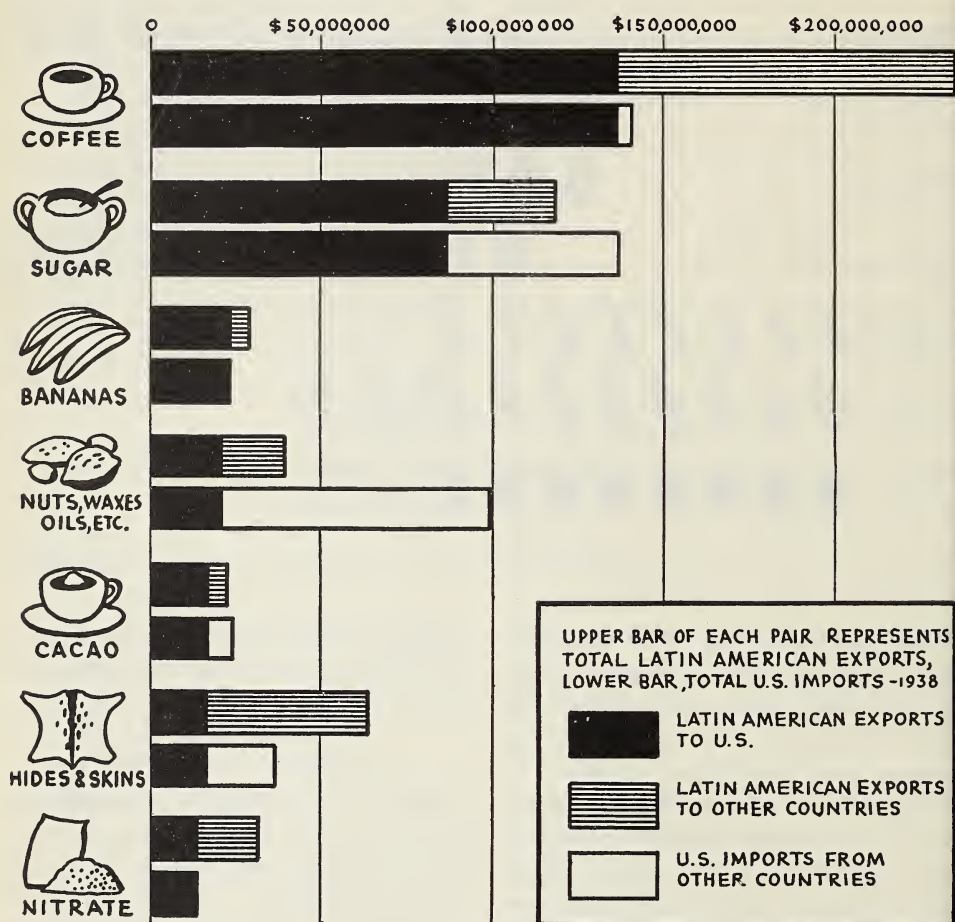
Argentine trade was more than compensated for losses in wheat and meat by wartime increases along other lines.

## PROBLEM OF SURPLUSES

Most Latin-American republics, under the old economic system, have been plagued with the problem of surpluses. When a country produces only one or two crops for export and a war or a depression prohibits other nations from buying those items, great surplus supplies tend to pile up, and present a big problem. But this problem, we are learning, can be solved. Methods of solution are: (1) by increasing trade between Latin-American countries, (2) by removing import barriers and stepping up purchases on the part of the United States, and (3) by finding out the needs and demands for goods, setting limits to production along these lines, and encouraging more produc-



# LATIN AMERICAN EXPORTS THE U.S. CAN BUY



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tion of noncompetitive, complementary goods.

Since the outbreak of the war in 1939 all these methods have been used to solve the problem of surpluses. Difficulties of transportation between Latin-American countries have prevented extensive trade in the past. Of their total foreign commerce only about 7 per cent has been among themselves. Wheat and corn rotted in Argentina while people in Colombia and Mexico lacked proper food. Many

lived on a starvation level in the Caribbean countries and elsewhere. Many children suffered from tuberculosis because of malnutrition. At the same time sugar and beef lay in warehouses in great quantities. With the growing trade agreements between the Latin-American republics, this should cease to be the case.

The United States has greatly increased its purchases in Latin America to reduce some of their surpluses as well as to secure strategic war mate-

rials. The Inter-American Financial and Economic Committee (the same body that had sponsored an Inter-American Bank) worked out in 1940 a quota system for coffee exports. The countries producing coffee for export agreed to limit their production to a certain amount, to avoid surpluses and harmful competition.

**Present-Day Industries in Latin America.** Latin America is developing industries. Trade with industrial nations had showed them the use and value of modern goods. The demand for these goods naturally led to their manufacture in the country where they were used. Mexico is making her own shoes, hats, cotton goods, newsprint, and even steel products. Brazil is building up her steel, textile, and rubber industries. Argentine factories supply many textiles used in the country. Chile is selling manufactured goods to her west coast neighbors. She has also become an important publishing center for all Spanish America. Loans from the United States are aiding the development of some of these industries.

Does that mean that the United States will lose her export trade of manufactured goods in Latin America? On the contrary. It need only mean a change in the kind of goods sold; it will in all probability result in much greater total commerce. Let us see why this is true.

First of all, the heavy machinery, new equipment, railroads, power plants, road-building machinery that Latin America needs for its industrialization program are all purchased in the United States. The demand for these products will increase; but there seems little prospect for many

years to come that Latin America will develop great industrial centers like Pittsburgh, Detroit, Birmingham. Certain fundamental materials, such as coal, are lacking; also lacking are the dense populations.

Secondly, industries will mean higher living standards in Latin America. The masses of people will have more money to buy all the goods that modern industrial nations produce. When the country people begin to use radios and the new roads, a new trade era will open. Greater interest in sports, amusements, travel; more use of modern household appliances, business machines, home furnishings will open to the United States unlimited markets for these goods. The needs of Latin America will be greatly diversified; production will be specialized in each country in what it can produce best at the least cost. Trade will then be more important than ever. That is why Canada, the second industrial nation on the American continent, is the best customer of the United States.

#### **Can the Americas Be Self-Sufficient?**

The war cut off essential supplies from Asia, from the Far East, from the Near East. It interrupted commerce with Europe. Trade between the Americas used to be about equal to the trade with Asia, and half of that with Europe. Now inter-American trade is strained to the utmost, and resources have rapidly developed to supply the increased wartime needs of the United States and its Allies. True, Latin America is the richest raw-material-producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power; its



<i>Country</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Area Square Miles</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Population</i>
Argentina.....	13,709,238 ....	1,079,965 ....	Buenos Aires.....	2,450,000 ....
Bolivia.....	3,533,900 ....	416,040 ....	La Paz.....	250,000 ....
Brazil.....	41,565,083 ....	3,286,170 ....	Rio de Janeiro.....	1,585,234 ....
Chile.....	5,178,260 ....	286,396 ....	Santiago.....	829,830 ....
Colombia.....	8,701,816 ....	439,828 ....	Bogotá.....	330,312 ....
Costa Rica.....	687,354 ....	23,000 ....	San José.....	66,800 ....
Cuba.....	4,227,597 ....	44,164 ....	Habana.....	568,913 ....
Dominican Republic....	1,768,163 ....	19,325 ....	Ciudad Trujillo.....	71,297 ....
Ecuador.....	3,085,871 ....	125,000 ....	Quito.....	215,921 ....
El Salvador.....	1,862,980 ....	13,176 ....	San Salvador.....	104,000 ....
Guatemala.....	3,410,762 ....	48,290 ....	Guatemala City.....	166,456 ....
Haiti.....	2,663,000 ....	10,700 ....	Port-au-Prince.....	125,000 ....
Honduras.....	1,154,388 ....	46,332 ....	Tegucigalpa.....	47,223 ....
Mexico.....	19,653,552 ....	758,258 ....	Mexico City.....	1,229,576 ....
Nicaragua.....	1,013,946 ....	57,143 ....	Managua.....	118,448 ....
Panama.....	631,637 ....	34,169 ....	Panama.....	82,827 ....
Paraguay.....	1,014,773 ....	169,266 ....	Asunción.....	104,819 ....
Peru.....	7,395,687 ....	482,258 ....	Lima.....	450,000 ....
Uruguay.....	2,146,545 ....	72,153 ....	Montevideo.....	703,894 ....
Venezuela.....	3,996,095 ....	352,170 ....	Caracas.....	203,342 ....
United States.....	154,436,523 ....	3,738,395 ....	Washington, D.C. ....	663,019 ....

<sup>1</sup> Chief imports of the Latin-American republics are mainly mineral oils, iron and steel for radios, ready-made clothing, textiles, tools and implements for mining and agriculture, hardware,

<sup>2</sup> 1939; figure for 1940 unavailable.

economy is largely complementary to that of the United States. But the Americas are not an isolated unit. Their economics can function well only in conjunction with the rest of the world, under a system of free and well-planned economic development and exchange. What is true of the advantage of unity and co-operation

between the Americas applies also to unity and co-operation among all the free nations of the world.

**Economic Defense of the Hemisphere.** On December 7, 1941, the Axis enemy stormed the door of the Americas. A few weeks later the foreign ministers of the American republics met in Rio de Janeiro to consult

## AT A GLANCE

<i>Principal Exports</i>	<i>Foreign Trade — 1940</i> <i>(Approximate values in</i> <i>thousands of</i> <i>United States dollars)</i>	
	<i>Imports <sup>1</sup></i>	<i>Exports</i>
Wheat, corn, linseed, oats, barley, flour, meats, hides, skins, wool, meat extract, butter, cotton, and quebracho extract and wood...	289,367 ....	382,700
Tin, silver, antimony, lead, copper, zinc, gold, and bismuth.....	23,595 <sup>2</sup> ....	43,003 <sup>2</sup>
Coffee, cotton, hides and skins, cocoa, oranges, canned meats, lumber, and tobacco.....	300,877 ....	301,021
Copper bars, nitrate, gold and silver ores, wool, iron ore, lentils, beans, hides, iodine, and fresh fruits.....	104,515 ....	143,596
Coffee, gold, petroleum, bananas, cattle hides, platinum, and tobacco.....	84,677 ....	95,074
Coffee, bananas, gold, tuna fish, and mineral earths.....	16,840 ....	7,484
Sugar, molasses, leaf tobacco, cigars, bananas, copper and iron ore, manganese, alcoholic beverages, sponges, henequen, and honey..	103,860 ....	127,288
Sugar, cocoa, coffee, tobacco, corn, molasses, cattle, and bananas..	10,511 ....	18,330
Cocoa, petroleum, cyanide, coffee, gold, rice, bananas, tagua nuts, hats, rubber, hides and skins, balsa wood, and kapok.....	11,120 ....	10,742
Coffee, gold and silver, sugar, balsam, and henequen.....	8,108 ....	12,228
Coffee, bananas, chicle, gold, honey, and cattle hides.....	12,667 ....	12,039
Coffee, raw sugar, cotton, sisal, bananas, and cocoa.....	7,940 ....	5,399
Bananas, silver, gold, coffee, livestock, grapefruit, tobacco, cyanide, and coconuts.....	10,085 ....	9,658
Silver, gold, lead, zinc, copper, crude petroleum, coffee, henequen, cattle, bananas, and chicle.....	123,902 ....	177,800
Gold, coffee, bananas, lumber, cotton, livestock, hides and skins, and sugar.....	7,052 ....	9,494
Bananas, cocoa, meat, gold, coconuts, cattle hides, rubber, and mother-of-pearl.....	20,464 <sup>2</sup> ....	6,826 <sup>2</sup>
Quebracho extract, canned meats, cattle hides, yerba mate, meat extract, oil of petit grain, lumber, and tobacco.....	9,069 ....	7,402
Cotton, copper bars, petroleum, sugar, wool, gold, and mineral ores and concentrates.....	51,666 ....	65,782
Linseed, meats, cattle hides, wheat, and sheepskins.....	39,091 ....	58,186
Petroleum, coffee, gold, cocoa, tonka beans, pearls, sugar, cattle, hides, and alligator and goat skins.....	97,556 ....	269,895
Machinery, petroleum, automobiles and parts, cotton, iron and steel mill products, tobacco, chemicals, wheat, and flour.....	2,540,856 ....	4,021,147
Construction, leather and manufactures, furniture and office appliances, automobiles, airplanes, lumber, engines and motors, electrical apparatus and material.		

*Courtesy of the Pan American Union*

on the political and economic problems of the new situation. The economic program drawn up by that conference is a historic milestone in American relations.

Only a few years ago such steps in pooling and exploiting American resources seemed almost inconceivable. In the 1940's United States experts

are aiding the Latin Americans to develop rubber and other tropical products, to explore mineral deposits, to lay out airfields, to improve transportation, aviation, and radio services. The Pan-American Highway is being rushed to completion with United States' funds. The United States is helping plan and finance new indus-



tries in Latin America and moving to abolish trade restrictions. These efforts should raise the standards of living of our Southern neighbors and provide us with new supplies of raw materials and markets if both sides play the game fairly.

Cordell Hull, the Secretary of State of the United States, has declared:

The American nations can build a system of economic defense that will enable each of them to safeguard itself from the dangers of economic subordination from abroad and of economic distress at home. It is no part of our thought to obstruct in any way logical and natural trade with Europe or with any other portion of the world, but rather to promote such trade with nations willing to meet us, in good faith, in a spirit of friendly and peaceful purpose, and on a plane of frank and fair dealing. Against any other kind of dealing, we naturally will protect ourselves.

The Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee has been instructed to work out the new program as follows:

To create instruments of inter-American co-operation for the temporary storing, financing, and handling of certain commodities, and for their orderly and systematic marketing.

To develop commodity arrangements with a view to assuring equitable terms of trade for both producers and consumers.

To recommend methods for improving the standard of living of the peoples of the Americas.

To establish appropriate organizations for the distribution of a part of the surplus of any such commodity, as a humanitarian and social relief measure.

To consider, while these plans and measures are being developed, the desirability of a broader system of inter-American co-operative organization in trade and industrial matters.

It is along these lines, especially in raising the standards of living, that many of the solutions of economic problems are to be found. In most American countries many are underfed. A well-planned co-operative economy would do much to aid the social and spiritual welfare of the continent and the world at large.

### Words and Terms to Learn

barter  
surpluses  
quota  
tungsten

Export-Import Bank  
co-operative economy  
reciprocal tariffs  
Hull Trade Agreements

### Learning through Discussion

1. In the colonial period, for whose benefit was trade carried on in Latin America?
2. After the winning of independence, who came to control most of the business life in Latin America?
3. Review the five divisions into which the economic development of Latin America can be separated.
4. "Latin America is the richest raw-material-producing section of the world not under the direct domination of a great industrial power." Explain this statement, and give an example of an important export product.

5. Of the fourteen principal exports of Latin America, can you select three which are imported by the United States because they are not produced here?

6. From the statistics on Latin-American imports in 1938, list the most important countries in the order of their sales to Latin America, and the percentage sold by each.

7. Name the five La Plata countries which will benefit from their agreements of February, 1941.

8. Give one reason why only 7 per cent of the foreign commerce of the Latin-American countries is with each other. Why is this percentage increasing?

9. For each of the following statements, indicate whether it is true or false, and prove your answer by reference to the text.

(a) The United States has more trade with Latin America than Europe does.

(b) Europe imports more from Latin-American countries than it exports to them.

(c) Europe's trade is more with the Caribbean countries, whereas the United States monopolizes the trade with southern South America.

10. What happened to United States' trade with Latin America during the first World War?

11. How did Germany's barter system help to establish her monopoly of trade with some Latin-American countries?

12. What European countries ranked next to Germany in Latin-American trade just previous to the second World War?

13. Name the three functions of the Export-Import Bank's loans to Latin America.

14. Explain the Hull Trade Agreement Act. When was it adopted?

15. What was the advantage of loans from the Export-Import Bank over the private loans of the 1920's? How did they aid the United Nations in the second World War?

16. What is the economic importance of Latin America to the United States—as a producer? as a consumer?

17. Explain this statement: "On the whole, . . . the United States and Latin America have complementary economies," using either Mexico or Brazil as an example.

18. Name one country which is an exception to the above statement. Give an example of a product in which it competes with the United States.

19. What arguments can you give to prove that the industrialization of Latin America will not kill United States' markets there?

20. How would you answer the question: Can the Americas be self-sufficient?

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. Make a map locating the sources of the principal raw materials of Latin America. Indicate on the map also the industrial areas where these raw materials are used in the United States.

2. Using a map of the world, draw the trade routes of the chief Latin-American industrial centers to the ports of the world with which they had established trade in the 1930's.



3. Make a line graph showing the volume of exports or imports from one Latin-American country to other countries of the world. Both exports and imports could be shown on the same graph, using a different color for each.

4. Make a chart showing data on one of the following:

(a) United States import and export trade with Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean area, and the other American countries, since 1925.

(b) Volume of trade (import and export) since 1925 of the other Americas with United States, Great Britain, Germany, Japan. Show how far United States' trade has altered during this period in comparison with its three competitors.

### Projects and Problems

1. The head of the United States delegation at the Pan-American Conference at Habana in 1928 refused to discuss the matter of tariffs with the other American nations. At the next conference, at Montevideo, Secretary Hull said that tariffs could only be settled by nations conferring with each other and making agreements that would be beneficial to each party. One reason for Secretary Hull's reversing the position of our delegation at Habana was probably our experiences during the depression in the intervening years.

Make a study of the way the Hawley-Smoot Tariff Bill of 1929, by raising tariffs, killed much of our foreign trade and in this way added to unemployment in the United States. Trace various situations like the one when the tariff on copper is raised: Chile's people are thrown out of work, the value of her currency drops, she ceases to pay interest on her debt to us, and workers in automobile plants in Detroit are discharged because Chile can no longer buy our automobiles.

2. Have a class discussion on whether or not we ought to develop a customs union among all the American republics, which would practically guarantee free trade on this continent.

3. Prepare a speech which might be given before a Rotary Club, contrasting the advantages of the Hull Trade Agreements plan (which uses experts from two countries to work out tariffs that encourage both buying and selling by each country to the advantage of both) with the old method of Congress' making our tariffs (in which local congressmen trade votes: the Massachusetts representative agrees to vote for a tariff on sugar if the representative from the beet-sugar state of Colorado will vote for a tariff on shoes, neither giving consideration to the economic life of the country to which we want to sell goods).

4. Discuss various ways that the United States and Argentina might increase their trade:

(a) The United States might buy more Argentine meat, which would bring competition to our cattle business, but lower the price of meat in this country.

(b) Argentina could reduce the amount of meat and corn which she produces, and turn to other products which would not compete with our products.

(c) Automobile manufacturers of the United States who desire Argentine markets might in some way aid our farmers who would lose by our buying Argentine competitive products.

(d) The United States might pay high enough prices for Bolivian tin and Chilean nitrate so that the underfed people of those countries could afford to buy Argentine products.

(e) The United States might buy all Argentine surplus products and either sell them or give them to the underfed people of Central Europe, China, Puerto Rico, and other countries we desire to help.

5. The question comes before Congress as to whether the Export-Import Bank, which did good work during the war, should be continued or closed down following the war. Write a letter to your local newspaper, either for or against the proposal, defending or criticizing the following facts:

(a) The history of our foreign commerce shows that we have more trade with industrial countries like Great Britain and Sweden than we do with agricultural countries like most of the Latin-American republics.

(b) Factories pay higher wages than farming, so industrial countries have higher standards of living than those largely dependent on agriculture and mining. It is, therefore, good business, as well as part of the Good Neighbor Policy, for the United States to risk loss in lending money to Brazil to build a steel mill.

## XIX. INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL RELATIONS

It is not difficult to understand why nations need to co-operate to stop war. It is also easy to recognize why nations need to agree on certain rules in order to trade together. Therefore, international relations as a subject of study has usually included political (governmental) co-operation and economic co-operation. Today a third section of international relations is being developed, which is called cultural exchange.

### THE MEANING OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

By cultural exchange is meant that lecturers and prominent men from various walks of life are encouraged to visit other countries to share their ideas, that students and teachers are exchanged between countries, and that an attempt is made to understand and appreciate the literature, art, and music of other American nations.

Following the first World War the League of Nations and the Pan American Union established special divisions for this work. They were called sections of intellectual co-operation. More recently there has been a tendency to enlarge the idea of this co-operation and call it cultural exchange. Thus are included all of the things that help people of one nation to understand the life of other na-

tions, such as school activities, amusements, business life, religious life, food, health, and transportation. This more general idea of cultural exchange is coming to have an important place in the schools of the United States. For example, a high school in California has included in its study of the cultural life of Mexico questions like these: What kind of amusements do Mexican children enjoy? How do they get their news? Does our town get any food, manufactured goods, metals, books, motion pictures from Mexico? How can we visit Mexico and have Mexicans visit us? Would they welcome us and we them?

**The Need for Cultural Exchange.** The reason why the League of Nations and the Pan American Union decided to urge not only more political co-operation and international trade, but also an exchange of ideas between countries was that it became clear that treaties made by governments will not be kept unless the people themselves want them kept. If the citizens of the United States and of Mexico are suspicious of each other, it will be very hard for the governments or the business firms of the two nations to have friendly relations. If the people of Argentina and Brazil are always thinking of the wars they have fought



against each other, it will be difficult for them to cultivate good relations today. That was the reason why Argentina and Brazil signed a treaty ten years ago agreeing to rewrite the histories used in the public schools so that offensive passages which might sow hatred of the sister nation would be eliminated. History, of course, cannot deny the facts, however disagreeable. One country, in order to promote friendliness, cannot assume the attitude that it was all to blame and the other party in the controversy was entirely innocent. But both sides of the quarrel can be stated. Bombastic nationalism can be withheld and wounds need not be intentionally inflicted. It was that idea that persuaded these two countries to invite all American republics to join in this treaty. The United States did not feel that it could sign, since in this country individual states, and not the Federal government, control education and the selection of textbooks. But our country, in one way or another, must find ways of having students, as well as older people, get the proper attitude toward the other Americas. That is the problem of developing cultural relations.

Promoting cultural relations between the Americas does not mean that one country must admire all that another country does. True Pan-Americanism will not be promoted either by surrendering one's own patriotism or by endeavoring to get the people of another land to surrender theirs. The reason for a North American to study Argentine literature or Chilean education or Venezuelan petroleum laws is not to make our literature, schools, or laws like those

of our neighbors, nor, on the other hand, is it to get our neighbors to imitate us. Rather, the reason for such cultural exchange is to understand the thought life of other American nations. The most glorious thing about the American way of life is that this kind of democracy allows the people of each nation to develop their own kind of talent as a contribution to the whole. This democracy will not be preserved, however, if as Americans we do not undertake to understand the culture and civilization, the moral and spiritual purposes of our neighbors.

#### THE HISTORY OF CULTURAL EXCHANGE

The history of cultural exchange between Spanish America and the United States and the lack of it follow to a considerable extent the history of political and economic Pan-Americanism. When the colonies separated from Spain, there swept over the new republics a strong anti-Spanish feeling. Deprived, thus, of spiritual relations with the motherland, the new nations were overcome with a spirit of loneliness. Where could they find a new friend to give them inspiration as they embarked on the strange, rough sea of independent life? Politically, they charted their course by that of the United States. They copied the Constitution of the Northern republic. They were inspired by the words and deeds of our great men. One of the most precious possessions of Simón Bolívar was a miniature of George Washington, sent to him by Lafayette at the special request of Washington's family. The friendship of Henry Clay, as expressed

in Congress when he advocated the recognition of the young republics, was deeply appreciated by the Southerners. Immediately the desire of the Southerners to send their young men to school in the North was evident.

Simón Bolívar first started the program by sending his nephew, Fernando Bolívar, to the United States. His uncle desired Fernando to enter the United States Military Academy. Young Fernando, however, was more interested in a certain man than he was in any institution. Fernando therefore betook himself to the University of Virginia to put himself under the influence of the outstanding personality of Thomas Jefferson. A few other students made their way north also.

Soon, however, the opportunity for promoting cultural exchange with Latin America was lost. The United States became absorbed in conquering the West and settling its frontiers, and neglected to look beyond its own borders. Where the United States failed, France succeeded. She became the great spiritual guide for Latin America as well as the center for the education of its youth.

**North American Writers Look Southward.** Following the War between the States the visit to the United States of the great Argentine, Sarmiento, was one indication of this exchange. About the same time an interest in the literature of Spanish America was shown by writers in this country. This was demonstrated especially by the famous group which included Bryant, Longfellow, Lowell, and Whitman. Bryant was one of the first to learn Spanish. He visited Latin America and took a deep inter-

est in the poetry of those countries. His paper, the *New York Evening Post*, printed translations from the Spanish. In Spanish America the works of Poe and Longfellow have been translated more often than those of any other of our great literary figures. Although he may not be the most representative writer of his country, Poe has probably left the greatest impression on the literature of Latin America because of his great artistry and originality. Once the literary values and philosophical tendencies of our great writers became known, many poets from the South began to translate their poems. Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* was translated and used as a school reader in Brazil. Walt Whitman, as the poet of democracy, has been widely read in Latin America.

In the same period following the War between the States a small group of North American scientists became interested in South America. The great scientist Louis Agassiz spent considerable time in Brazil at the invitation of the emperor of that country. The amiable Dom Pedro II himself visited the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. This was an important incident in the early cultural exchanges between North and South America. At the exposition the emperor met Alexander Graham Bell and tested the invention by which he claimed to be able to make his voice carry for a considerable distance by means of two instruments attached to the ends of a wire. The invention—the telephone—was pronounced a success by the emperor. This recognition brought the telephone to the favorable attention of the world. During

that epoch a few scientists and an occasional teacher from the United States made a visit to the South. Likewise, a few Southern students sought instruction in this country. But anything like an exchange of students had to await the exigencies of the first World War. At that time students who were unable to reach Europe began to come in considerable numbers to the United States.

**Exchange of Students and Professors.** Latin-American countries have always emphasized the importance of the exchange of students, of musicians, artists, and writers. Their governments have assumed the responsibility for financing such exchange. The United States, on the other hand, has assumed that this exchange should be carried on by private agencies. We have emphasized so constantly through our representatives of the Department of Commerce and our consuls our desire for commercial exchange that Latin Americans have often thought we were interested only in trade. Germany, France, and Italy, however, have carried on the exchange with Latin America and have paid the way of their cultural representatives.

As an illustration of how this works out consider the following situation. At the University of São Paulo in 1930 it was decided to add a number of foreign professors to the staff. Twenty professors were brought from European countries, but not one from the United States. When a North American questioned this, the reply was: "Aren't your universities largely interested in football?" A North American professor was finally called. But to secure his passage, it was necessary to take up a collection among the

professors and students of his own institution. European countries gave their professors free passage on their national ships and continued the salary which they received in their native land. The salary of the professor from the United States was paid by the Brazilian university itself. When he found he could hardly live on the salary and asked for an increase, the reply was: "Why should we pay you more; we can get all the professors we want from other countries for practically nothing." When he began a course on American civilization, he was compelled to get the needed books from a fund donated to the university by the French government. Under these circumstances he must, of course, select French books. A humiliating situation! There are large numbers of foreign professors in South America, but very few are from the United States.

#### THE BUENOS AIRES TREATY ON CULTURAL RELATIONS

The strong drive of Germany to dominate the cultural life of the Latin-American countries finally persuaded the United States Government to undertake a program of cultural exchange. In 1936 the United States delegation at the Buenos Aires Peace Conference proposed the Buenos Aires Treaty on Cultural Relations. It provides that each nation shall send to every other nation signing the treaty two graduate students and one professor. These are to be supported by the government who sends them and are to be chosen by an organization set up by each country. This treaty was hailed with delight by the Latin Americans. By the year 1942 fifteen



countries had signed this treaty. When all twenty-one republics have approved this agreement, it will mean that 840 (that is,  $2 \times 21 \times 20$ ) graduate students will be distributed over the twenty-one republics of the continent. Likewise there will be 420 professors, for each country will receive one professor from each of the other twenty republics and will send one professor to each of the other republics. In all, this will make an army of 1260 emissaries of peace and understanding among the Americas.

It is interesting to note that in Latin America there were more students and professors prepared to fulfill the requirements of this treaty than there were in the United States. North Americans are usually not interested in attending foreign universities unless they can earn credits which will be recognized as counting toward degrees at home. Few have the necessary mastery of the foreign language for study or teaching. Our professors are not willing to accept the lower salary scales prevailing in the Southern republics. The fact is that there are many problems involved in students going to a foreign country. Let us give a few illustrations.

#### **Difficulties of Student Exchange.**

The niece of a president of a South American republic came to an outstanding women's college in the United States to finish her studies in psychology. Before matriculation, she was submitted to a rigorous test. When she was asked to name the prominent psychologists with whose work she was familiar, she mentioned her own professors and some important European authorities. Impatiently she was told that the examiner

had never heard of those names and that United States authorities must be given. Deeply mortified, she was prevented from returning home immediately only by the lack of money.

Foolish remarks of fellow students often create wrong impressions upon visiting Latin Americans. "Will you please bring along your native costume when you come to dinner?" "Where did you get that beautiful dress?" "Don't tell me you could buy one like that in Chile!" "I should like to give you tickets to the symphony concert. However, don't expect to hear any of your native tangoes. It will be mostly what we call classical music. But you will enjoy the experience, I'm sure." Such "good-will agents" do not know that Paris styles reach South America more quickly than they do New York (because of reverse seasons); that classical music is played by even the street bands in the Southern republics; that South Americans are no more likely to have a "native costume" than are North Americans. Visitors from the South do not appreciate being regarded as museum specimens, as wild Indians, or as anything else except human beings and Americans.

A group of students from the United States recently went south to attend summer school at one of the ancient universities. Because the students at that institution regard themselves as serious-minded adults, they could not understand the "college pranks" of the North American visitors. They considered such actions as juvenile and beneath the dignity of attendants at a university. Nor did citizens generally understand how young women from a supposedly cul-

tured environment could behave badly in public places, forget their dignity, and ignore the rule of having a chaperon. Equally bad taste is shown at times by students from the South when they fail to meet the requirements of United States schools and the legitimate demands of hostesses, who are offended by rudeness. Such students may enjoy life, but they should not think that they are promoting cultural relations.

**New Organizations.** The adoption by the United States of the Buenos Aires Treaty on Cultural Relations required the organization of a Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State. This division was organized in 1938. Besides assuming responsibility for carrying out the treaty, this division announced that its interests embraced also the distribution of United States libraries in foreign lands, the participation of this government in international cultural conferences, broadcasts, the encouragement of closer relations between unofficial organizations of this and foreign governments, and the general improvement of the scope of our cultural relations with other countries. The Office of Education of the Federal Government organized an inter-American section to co-operate with the new Division of Cultural Relations in selecting students and professors from our own country and in the distribution of those coming from Latin-American countries to the various colleges and universities in the United States.

The Federal government, in setting up this official section on Cultural Relations, was careful to emphasize that in no way did it desire to take

the place of what individuals, clubs, or institutions wished to do. Many schools, colleges, clubs, foundations, and other institutions began to study ways of exchanging personnel, printed material, and correspondence between Northern and Southern republics. Mr. Leopold Stokowski, the Philharmonic conductor, selected a large group of young musicians to accompany him on a notable trip to Latin America. The classical music which he played had often been heard in Latin America played by their own or European orchestras, but the coming of a large orchestra composed of young men and young women from the United States was a unique experience. Their masterly performances of the most difficult music gave the Latin Americans a new conception of United States culture, and also of the youth of the North. The appreciation received meant also that every young person in the orchestra returned to his home community with great enthusiasm for the culture of Latin America. The custom of holding summer sessions for North American students in Latin America and for Latin-American students in North America became more common. The Pan American Union, the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department, the International Institute of Education of New York, North American steamship and airways companies, educational institutions like the University of Pennsylvania, Yale University, and Smith College sent groups of their students to Latin-American universities for summer and winter sessions. In 1940 the first large contingent of university students from South America, numbering more than one hundred in one group, came to

the University of North Carolina for the six weeks' summer course. Summer schools in the North and in the South took on ever larger proportions until interrupted by the second World War.

### **High Schools Join the Movement.**

The high schools entered the movement with enthusiasm. Many of them integrated courses in English, the social studies, art, music, and Spanish with study of the culture of the other American peoples and inter-American relations. In other schools a conscious effort is made by each department in the school to contribute to the understanding of South America. Classes reported on Pan-American conferences by telephone, cable, and radio. Pupils studied the figures on exports to and from the republics of North America. Groups designed tapestries inspired by Mexican murals, decorated maps, painted wooden bowls in the manner of the Mexican and Guatemalan artists, and created costumes for use in fiestas and at Pan-American balls. The complementary character of the economic life of the North and the South American republics was compared with complementary elements in art which make for a more complete, better-balanced continent.

Pupils in biology reported on animals and plants of South America and studied famous biological experiments conducted in connection with malaria and yellow fever in Panama and Cuba. English and history classes studied great men, such as Bolívar, O'Higgins, Juárez, and San Martín, discussed Pan-Americanism and the present world crisis, and debated unsolved problems of inter-American relations.

They studied avenues of communication and evolved a plan for removing prejudice through understanding and knowledge. Physical education groups became acquainted with Pan-American athletic games and inter-American Olympics. The home-making department considered food products which originated in Latin America and the Latin-American products necessary to the North American home. In mathematics classes pupils made maps on scale, found distances between important cities, and estimated lengths of rivers. Economics classes investigated such questions as the significance of Latin-American trade and what American neighbors buy and sell to each other. The State of Texas led all the rest of the country and provided for the study of Spanish in every primary school. That example will no doubt be followed by other states.

### **MEDIA FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGE**

**The Office of Co-ordinator.** The movement for cultural exchange grew rapidly. It was not enough, however, to counteract the enormous activities of the totalitarian states in Latin America. President Roosevelt speeded up the process by appointing, on August 16, 1940, Mr. Nelson Rockefeller as Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This office was assigned several million dollars per year from the funds for National Defense. Thus the Federal government announced that it considered the promotion of cultural relations with the Southern republics as a part of the defense of the United States against the invasion of the Axis.

The Office of the Co-ordinator endeavored to improve all methods of



communication between the republics—the radio, the press, and the motion picture—as well as the truly cultural media of art, music, and education. The demand for news from the United States was met by distribution in the other republics of news, articles, and pictures. Weekly news letters in Spanish and Portuguese were sent by air mail to the other republics to inform them of the progress of the war effort.

**National Associations for Cultural Exchange.** Latin-American governments, always taking this matter seriously, organized National Commissions for Cultural Exchange when they joined the League of Nations. These commissions later began to co-operate with the Pan American Union. They officially represent their nations, and correspond, to a certain extent, to the Section on Cultural Relations of the Department of State of the United States. They see that their countries are well represented in all international conferences on intellectual subjects. They distribute the books of their best writers to other nations. They organize art exhibitions and book fairs. They invite foreign writers and artists to visit their countries. These National Commissions held the first joint conference in Santiago, Chile, in 1938, and the second in Habana in 1941. Private citizens of Latin America and the United States have organized in various Southern capitals to promote understanding. The oldest of these groups is the Argentine-North American Cultural Institute, which is housed in a large building in the center of Buenos Aires. Here lectures on North American culture are given, North American

books are sold, and classes in English are held. These classes are held in various sections of the city and have become so popular that 5,000 students are enrolled. The institute entertains North American professors and students and supervises the selection of exchange students. It has done much to overcome misunderstandings between Argentina and the United States.

**The Pan American Union and Cultural Exchange.** The Pan American Union is the pioneer organization in the field of cultural exchange. The Division of Intellectual Co-operation was reorganized in 1925. Its activities include the promotion of student exchange, the distribution of information concerning education, literature, music, and art, the publication of bulletins and bibliographies, the lending of books, and the aiding of teachers and students in their travel in various sections of the American continent. Every recent Pan-American conference has approved numerous plans in this field. The problem is, therefore, not that of developing new schemes. It is rather how to carry out the hundreds of plans that have already been approved. The most important of these plans is the proposal that an Inter-American Institute of Cultural Exchange be set up to co-ordinate all of the official programs of cultural exchange and do away with needless duplication of machinery. The United States Government itself has a dozen separate organizations working on the subject. Until some such body as the Inter-American Institute of Cultural Exchange is organized, this important project will limp along like an enthusiastic cripple,

who is always behind time because he cannot co-ordinate his muscles.

**Careful Preparation Needed.** The United States has not always been well advised in its efforts to promote understanding. In fact, so many good-will missions were sent from North America to Latin America in 1939-1940 that a Brazilian diplomat humorously remarked, "If the United States sends us another good-will mission, we may feel called upon to declare war on that country." When a certain motion-picture actor was appointed by the United States Government to make an official visit to Latin America, the people in the South were very puzzled. They liked motion-picture actors on the screen. They would welcome them as visitors. But to consider an actor as the official representative of a government, sent for the purpose of enlarging intellectual co-operation, was beyond their understanding.

To start a great program of cultural exchange without careful preparation may be as dangerous as to start a military campaign without a trained army. Immediately following the first World War, Germany opened four institutes in different sections of the country to prepare young people for service in Latin America. They were required to study the languages, the literature, the customs, the psychology, the history, and the economic organization of the countries to which they planned to go. Young people in business, in newspaper work, in radio broadcasting, and in any other activity having to do with Latin America were carefully trained before they undertook any responsible position.

How different it has been in the

United States! The very library which is serving as the basis for all Nazi propaganda in the Spanish-speaking world might have been possessed by the United States. Dr. Ernesto Quesada of Buenos Aires, its owner, offered, through a North American professor, to present it to Columbia University. Certain simple conditions went with the proffered gift of the magnificent collection of 65,000 volumes. But the university had other plans, and the gift was refused. Berlin immediately accepted the offer. Thus Germany started its long careful preparation for intellectual exchange with Latin America. In the United States good newspaper men, good radio broadcasters, and good advertisers are all supposed to be well prepared to lead our cultural propaganda in Latin America. Many serious mistakes, with far-reaching results, are made by the United States representatives who are not fully prepared for this work.

**Press, Radio, and the Motion Picture.** Three of the most important means of cultural exchange today are the press, the radio, and the moving picture. The United States Government is now emphasizing all of these in connection with Latin America. But the field has been developed with too little intellectual preparation. The press associations of the United States are the most efficient in the world from the standpoint of pleasing readers in the United States. But the attempt to carry on their business in Latin America with the same methods shows that they have failed to appreciate the possibilities of the exchange of news as a medium for cultural exchange. Nor will they ever appreciate it until their agents take

special courses in Latin-American culture.

The Hollywood technique for producing motion pictures is probably the best in the world. North American films dominate the Southern market. This does not mean, however, that they are successful in developing a greater inter-American understanding. They are often responsible for misunderstandings by giving the Latin Americans the impression that our life is largely made up of night clubs, wild West scenes, drinking parties, and lack of respect for family ties.

When other countries began to disseminate propaganda in Latin America through broadcasts, the United States suddenly felt called upon to do the same. It was then gradually realized that our system of privately owned broadcasting companies, depending on advertising for their prof-

its, imposed difficulties. The United States, one of the few governments in the world that does not possess its own short-wave station, found itself facing special problems. It is certain that to use adequately such powerful agencies as the radio, the motion picture, and the press requires long and careful study.

A country that largely leaves to private initiative a great task like cultural exchange should realize the disadvantage of such a system as compared with others where the government assumes these responsibilities. It should therefore make a special effort to prepare its people for leadership in this field. But the United States has not yet developed a single institution comparable to the Ibero-American Institute of Berlin, or similar ones in other countries, where the cultural life of Latin America is studied.

### Words and Terms to Learn

intellectual exchange	inter-American Olympics
Division of Cultural Relations	Inter-American Institute of Cultural
Office of Education	Exchange
Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs	

### People to Identify

Fernando Bolívar	William Henry Hudson
Leopold Stokowski	Nelson Rockefeller

### Learning through Discussion

1. What is meant by "cultural relations"? Give an example of how they may be used to encourage peace between neighboring countries.
2. Does true Pan-Americanism mean liking everything about the other American republics? Explain your answer.
3. Give two instances to prove that, in the early days of independence, the Latin-American republics looked to us for cultural guidance.



4. What part have Poe, Longfellow, and Bryant played in cultural interchange among the Americas?
5. What does the telephone owe to Dom Pedro II of Brazil?
6. Why, before recent years, did the United States have fewer professors and students in Latin America than did France, England, or Germany?
7. What is the plan of the Buenos Aires Treaty on Cultural Relations?
8. Discuss some of the problems involved in the exchange of students between the United States and Latin America.
9. What are the duties of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State?
10. What has Mr. Stokowski contributed to the cultural relations of the hemisphere?
11. Give four examples of the cultural activities which have been carried on under the direction of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs.
12. What is being done in Argentina to improve cultural relations with the United States?
13. Contrast Germany's method of preparing for cultural co-operation with Latin America with that of the United States. Which is better?
14. What difficulties arise when Hollywood motion pictures are used to teach Latin America to understand the United States? Can you suggest how this difficulty could be overcome?
15. If you were given your choice, in which other American republic would you prefer to travel or study, and why?

### Learning through Maps and Charts

1. Point out on a wall map the parts of the Western Hemisphere where you would need, in your travels, (1) to know Spanish; (2) to know Portuguese; (3) to know French.
2. Find out how many people speak each of these languages and make a chart to show the data you have found. What do these figures reveal about the teaching of foreign languages in our schools?

### Projects and Problems

1. Make a list of the Latin-American artists who have appeared in the United States as opera or concert stars, motion-picture stars, symphony orchestra composers or conductors, painters, or in any other artistic capacity.
2. Give an assembly program in the form of a "Festival of the Latin-American Arts."
3. Play phonograph records of Latin-American music, decide which pieces are best, and make a permanent album of Latin-American music for the school.
4. Make a survey of current radio programs with Latin-American settings, decide which you can recommend most highly, and post a list of these on the school bulletin board.
5. Report on motion pictures that deal with Latin America, and compare their relative value and interest.

6. Bring to class reproductions of the best Latin-American paintings and posters that you can find; choose the ones which are most suitable for use in homes or public buildings.
7. Interview students or other people from Latin-American countries to find out some of the problems they have had in getting acquainted with life in the United States.
8. As a recently arrived exchange student in some Latin-American country, write a letter home telling of the joys and difficulties you are experiencing.
9. Write to the Office of Education, Washington, D. C., to find out the requirements for securing an appointment as an exchange student in Latin America and report to the class on this question.
10. Debate the question: It is wrong for a democracy to engage in cultural propaganda in foreign countries?

### Opinion Tests

Indicate whether, in your opinion, the following statements are true or false:

1. It would be unjust to private broadcasting companies for the United States Government to have a short-wave station to send programs to Latin America.
2. A democracy has as much right to carry on propaganda in a foreign country as has a totalitarian government.
3. Other countries should be allowed to live their own lives without propaganda from the United States concerning liberty, religion, education, or trade.
4. Sending students to study in Latin America is a matter for private organizations and our government should not undertake such work.
5. The exchange of trade is more far-reaching in the building of inter-American friendship than is the exchange of culture.
6. The translation and distribution of books would do more to develop Pan-American relations than the exchange of professors.
7. Any kind of propaganda is harmful and should be suppressed by law.
8. The study of Spanish or Portuguese should be compulsory in all high schools in the United States as should be the study of English in Latin America.
9. Students in the United States are more interested in Spanish than Latin-American students are in English.
10. English spelling should be simplified so that foreigners could more easily learn our language.

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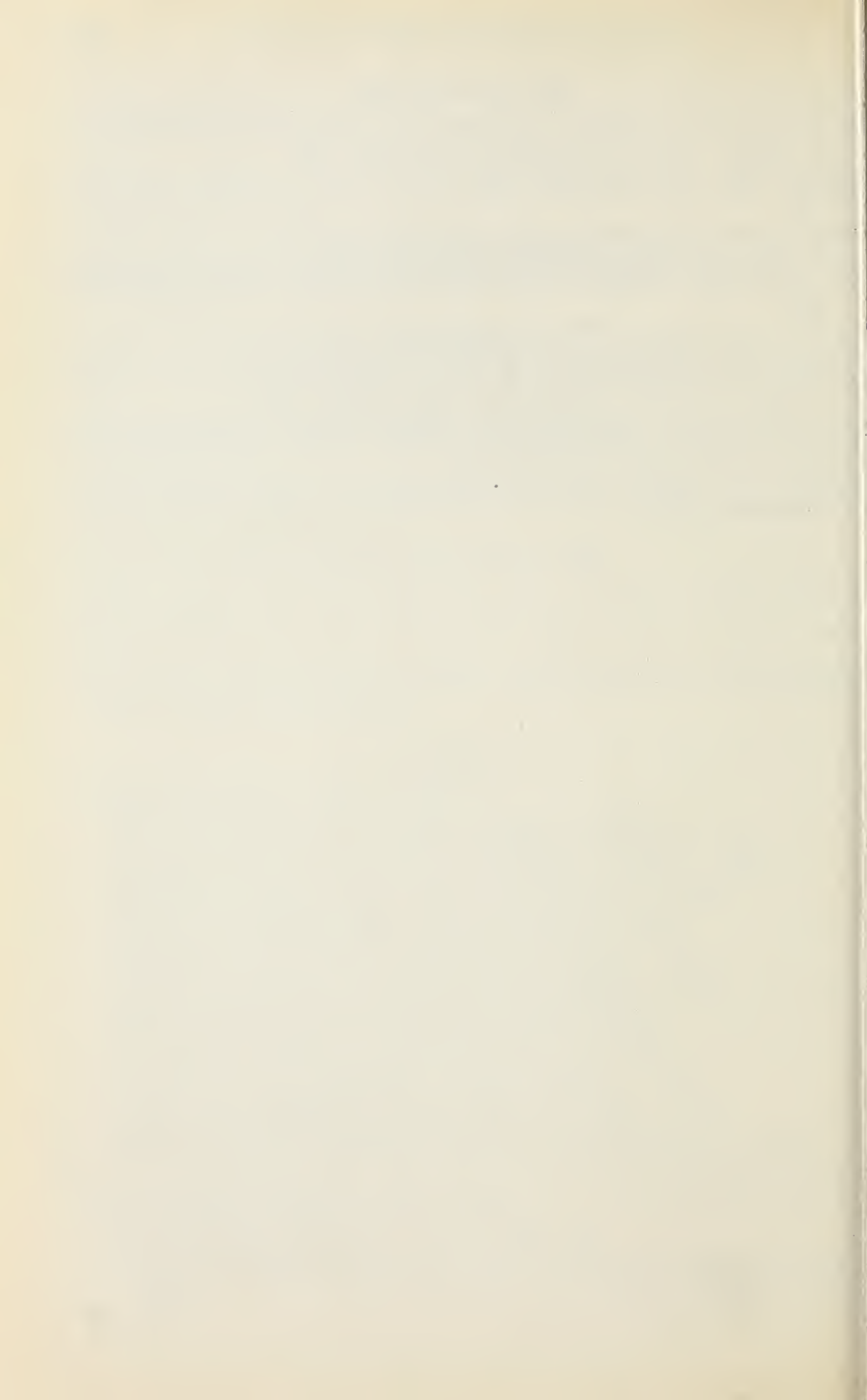
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## PART IV

# *Expression of a Continent*





## EXPRESSION OF A CONTINENT

*The literature of Latin America is her glory. Her writers have often been practical men who used their pens to aid reform. Leaders of the movement for independence from Spain established periodicals, wrote tracts, and composed poems favorable to liberty. Soon after securing independence, Southern Americans turned from Spanish conservatism to French liberalism. In the period of Romanticism which followed, prominent writers waged war against dictators like Rosas in Argentina, García Moreno in Ecuador, and the Spanish governors in Cuba. In the early days of the republics when democracy was under attack, a group of writers in Chile, Argentina, Peru, and Ecuador produced notable defenders of human liberty and the rights of men to govern themselves.*

*Modern writers have continued this noble heritage. Expelled from their native lands by dictators whom they have criticized, these young men and women find refuge in sister republics, where they continue their campaigns of reform.*

*Poetry is the field of greatest accomplishment. Whether it be a description of the great battle of Junín under the command of Bolívar, of the imposing peaks of the Andes Mountains, of the shattering torrents of Niagara, or a modern production filled with social passion, the poets of the Southern republics offer us beauty of form, depth of feeling, and challenging philosophy. Even the novel, so long in coming to its own, has now taken its place as a power for social reform. Latest of all achievements is the writers' warm support of the United Nations and a new defense of democracy in its battle against despots.*

*Art and music have been prominent in the life of the continent since the days of primitive America. In recent years a rebirth of both painting and music in Latin America has attracted the favorable attention of North American and European nations.*

## XX. LATIN-AMERICAN LITERATURE

To understand a people, we must know what they are thinking as well as what they are doing. This is especially true of our Southern neighbors. The writers of Latin America make up a group of delightful men and women. To know them is to have an appreciation of Latin America that is quite impossible if we know only the facts of their history. The history of the literature of the Southern republics is in itself an important and extended study. In the small space here available, we prefer, instead of making brief reference to many writers and to the various periods of literary history, to select a few typical authors of the period following the establishment of the republics and to give samples of their writings.

The writers discussed in this chapter have been selected not because they are necessarily the best but because they illustrate some of the characteristic traits of Southern poets, essayists, and novelists of yesterday and today.

Rich earth, magnificent scenery, and turbulent history have for centuries been the inspiration of Latin-American writers. So closely related to life and historical development is the literature of these countries that studying it is one of the best means

of understanding the people it pictures. In the days of the conquistadors, Garcilaso de la Vega, with admiration for his fatherland Peru, poured forth tales of the Inca civilization. The Spaniard Ercilla, in the epic poem *La Araucana*, described battles with the hardy Indians of Northern Chile. During the colonial period poetry flourished. In the revolts against Spain poets, novelists, and essayists devoted themselves to working for liberty. Today political and social problems become the concern of writers, who use their pens to improve the conditions of their countries.

In 1825 Latin America was like a bewildered child: affectionate, yet lonely; eager, yet hesitant. She was standing alone, tightly clutching her newly won freedom from Spain. She was surrounded by the dangerous specters of disunity, chaos, and confusion. She glanced appealingly at the United States, swift, impetuous, glorying in strength and unity. A few farsighted men like Jefferson, Clay, and Monroe observed with sincere and deep interest this admiration of Latin America for our country. These men knew that our constitution had served as a model for the constitutions of Latin-American republics. But the majority of the North Americans

knew practically nothing about their Southern neighbors.

Chile, however, made a direct appeal to the United States in 1810. Would it send "a battery of artillery and a printing press" to Santiago? For Chile realized, as we must realize today and always, that the price of liberty is constant vigilance, and that words and weapons are of equal importance in defending this most precious of all possessions. The United States, knowing well the decisive part printed matter had played in winning her democracy, responded by sending a printing press with three printers to maintain it. One of the most immediate results was the launching of the newspaper, *La Aurora* ("Dawn of Day"), the appearance of which caused wild excitement. Eager citizens raced through the placid streets of Santiago, stopping friends and strangers to read excerpts. To these serious-minded people it was truly a dawn of a new way of life. For three hundred years no new influences had permeated their thoughts. "Now," they exulted, "our ignorance will be dispelled."

We must understand that in Latin America literature has a definite, driving purpose behind it. Books are written to attack social abuses, to support reforms, to suggest solutions to current problems. Political leaders are often writers; newspaper editors often become presidents of their countries.

#### PERIOD OF REVOLUTION

The intimate manner in which political leaders, educators, and writers fought together for democracy is illustrated in the work of Bolívar's friends, José Joaquín de Olmedo and

Andrés Bello. Olmedo and Bello were known as the Damon and Pythias of the independence movement. They first met in the city of London, where each had gone to obtain help from England in winning freedom for Latin America. They used their pens as effectively as Bolívar used his shining sword.

**José Joaquín de Olmedo (1780-1847).** Olmedo came from Ecuador with its snow-clad Cordillera pitted with smouldering volcanoes. He was tall, handsome, with fiery black eyes, fine teeth, and a large nose of which he was very proud, because he thereby resembled Vergil, Homer, and Ovid. He was a dynamic orator and active in the political life of his nation, representing Ecuador in Spain in 1810. When Bolívar had finally vanquished the Spaniards, Olmedo wrote the Liberator that he hoped to "make a composition which will bear me with you to immortality." His wish was granted in his poem, "Victory of Junín." Though composed in 1825, its lines are vibrant and timely today:

If to Americans, O liberty!

The solemn mission is by Heaven given  
To curb and tame the horrid beast of  
war,

And over all the regions of the earth,  
And over all the waters of the seas  
To spread thy sovereign rule's imperial  
sway,

Fear not with such a hero as Bolívar  
That error blind shall e'er obscure thy  
light,

That superstition shall profane thy altars,  
That tyranny shall dare affront thy laws.

For thee shall be the glory, O Bolívar!  
For thee the right to break the yoke of  
kings,  
In their despite to enthrone the law on  
high.



Forever shall this glory last, ye nations,  
And irresistible your free estate  
Shall be before the might and hateful  
league  
Of all the tyrants that have sworn to  
crush you.

If in a federal bond from pole to pole,  
In war and peace ye live fore'er united.  
In union is your strength, union, O na-  
tions!

That ye be always free and never con-  
quered.

A mightier work, Bolívar, is this union  
Than to destroy Spain's iron rod of power,  
And thou alone art worthy to achieve it.

In gratitude for "Victory of Junín"  
Bolívar sent Olmedo to London. It  
was there that he met Bello, with  
whom he formed a very close friend-  
ship. When he left London to re-  
turn to Ecuador, he wrote to Bello,  
"When you read this, I shall be far  
from London. But those whom we  
love are never far away. I take you,  
my dear Andrés, into my heart, into  
my soul and very deep."

He wrote few poems because he  
composed only when inspired and  
was satisfied only with perfection. "I  
erase, tear up, correct, and always it  
is bad." His intense love for his na-  
tive city of Guayaquil, with its nar-  
row, cobbled streets and tiled roofs,  
brought him back from Europe in  
1828. In 1830 he was elected vice-  
president of Ecuador, but resigned to  
become mayor of his city. He re-  
mained in Ecuador until his death in  
1847.

**Andrés Bello (1781-1865).** A vis-  
itor to Caracas at the opening of the  
nineteenth century would soon have  
heard about the brilliant young  
scholar and poet, Andrés Bello. He  
was an imposing person, dogmatic,  
majestic, professorial. He graduated

from the university with highest hon-  
ors. He taught the children of dis-  
tinguished families, among them  
Bolívar. He improvised verses, trans-  
lated Horace and Vergil, and mas-  
tered French and English. The latter  
language was a fortunate acquisition  
as he was soon to discover. In the  
early 1800's Spain tried to keep from  
Latin America any news of revolu-  
tions for independence in other coun-  
tries. As one local colonial governor  
declared, "An American has no need  
to know how to read. It is enough for  
him to reverence God and His rep-  
resentative, the king of Spain." But  
Paine's books, the Declaration of In-  
dependence, the United States Con-  
stitution, and other revolutionary ma-  
terials were smuggled into the land  
and read with avidity by the secret  
literary society of which Bello was a  
bright star. In 1808 a copy of the  
London *Times* arrived in Caracas. At  
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs it was  
handed to Bello to translate. He laid  
it aside temporarily. Two days later  
he picked it up, started to read, and  
bolted from his chair, electrified by  
the news—the most exciting of the  
century! Napoleon had invaded  
Spain, dethroned King Ferdinand  
VII, placed his own brother, Joseph,  
on the throne, and declared the  
Spanish colonies of America under  
his rule.

Caracas seethed. French emissaries  
arrived demanding fealty to the new  
king, Joseph Bonaparte. Caracas  
parried for time, learned that Spain  
had revolted and was forming juntas  
to support King Ferdinand, then  
made its decision quickly—to expel  
the French invaders and send a com-  
mission to London to ask aid from

the English in this venture. As secretary of this commission Bello began his international career. An experienced political leader, Luis López Méndez, was chief of the junta. Simón Bolívar, twenty-three years old, was the third member; but his fiery disposition was not suited to diplomacy, and he soon returned from London to Venezuela. With him was another leader, Miranda. The two had one idea—to induce Venezuela to revolt.

Bello remained in London and wrote long letters to the *Times* to awaken English sympathy for the cause of South American independence. Everything progressed smoothly until 1812; then the royalists in northern South America gained the upper hand. Miranda capitulated, and Bolívar left Venezuela to carry on the fight elsewhere. Bello in London received no more funds. The junta collapsed. To earn his living he took a few students. Among them was charming Mary Ann Boyland, whom he married in 1815. He was acquainted with several British writers and philosophers and when groups of them met to discuss politics and international affairs, the air quivered with the violence of their debates. In 1829 he went to the land of purple lakes and thick forests, Chile, there to become the adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. His brilliant mind soon dominated the intellectual life, and in 1843 he became rector of the new University of Chile. Like many thoughtful people he found in a return to the soil an antidote for the poison of civic and personal discord and international strife. In one of his poems he chants:

O, youthful nations, ye who lift your heads  
 Encircled with new laurel wreaths of victory,  
 Before the gaze of an astounded West!  
 Do honor to the fields, with honor lead  
 The farmer's simple life, homely and frugal.  
 Thus freedom shall abide with you forever,  
 And ye shall always curb  
 Ambition and respect law's sacred might.

Bello was an exponent of the rather formal, classic style of writing. At eighty-four years of age he died, honored and revered. If Olmedo was an example of devotion to home and city, Bello is a fine symbol of devotion to a continent.

**Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811–1888).** "I come with my fists crammed with truth!" announced a young man with an imposing and dignified manner. This young man was Domingo Sarmiento. He had just arrived in Chile after crossing the snowy Andes from Argentina, whence he had fled the tyranny of the dictator Rosas. He immediately entered the Chilean arena of literature and politics and tangled with Bello in a controversy about literature which attracted national attention. He insisted that Chile should enlarge her mental scope and seek ideas from all people everywhere. Immediately following the publication of a poem by Bello, Sarmiento retaliated with an article, "Why Are There No Poets in Chile?" He answered the question by accusing the Chilean writers of keeping their old classic forms, stereotyped style, and worn-out subject matter. Barbs of angry criticism began to fly about his head. Bello's friends called

Sarmiento a foreign foe; Rosas demanded that Chile return him to Argentina to be tried for treason. But Sarmiento had friends, too. Manuel Montt, Minister of Education, advised the young radical, with the shining light of genius in his eyes, to go abroad to study and report on education. Sarmiento was transported with happiness. One of his cherished wishes had been to visit the old and famous cities of Europe. He went first to France, which he admired for her wisdom and enlightened attitude. Spain he disliked, feeling it was too backward. Then he sailed to the United States, and he was delighted with our country. Here was what he had been searching for—a country where people had enough to eat and where people had a press that told them what was happening in all parts of the world, where deserts were being conquered, and new fields cultivated. Best of all here was a man by the name of Abraham Lincoln, who was uttering flame-tipped words about the bulwarks of liberty and independence. Sarmiento later wrote a life of Lincoln. It is interesting to consider the traits which these two men had in common. Both were of humble origin, born in simple huts. Both were self-educated, straightforward, and nonacademic. Both were humanitarians, and both became presidents of their countries.

Sarmiento's admiration for the United States was so sincere and profound that Argentina accused him of clear-cut prejudice in favor of the Northern country. In the more than fifty books which he wrote there is hardly one in which he does not make

favorable mention of our country. We remember with gratitude the following tribute to the United States:

Today, North America invades the world, not with products and inventions, but with engineers, craftsmen, and machinists who teach how to produce greatly at little cost, how to dare all, and how to realize marvels. Not only in the useful arts, but also in the works of the intellectual, the North Americans are beginning to take their proper place. You are acquainted with Cooper, Washington Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, and Sparks, as historians of the first rank in American literature, some of them even daring the clarifying of certain episodes of European history; but also there is a great number of renowned writers who have treated the speculative questions of philosophy, political economy, and theology. Let it suffice to say that in the twelve years up to 1842, there have been published one hundred and six original works of biography, one hundred and eighteen on American geography and history, ninety-one on the same with respect to other countries, nineteen of philosophy, one hundred and three of poetry, one hundred fifteen novels, while almost at the same time three hundred eighty-two original American works had been reprinted in England. . . . Orators and statesmen like Everett, Webster, Calhoun, Clay are equaled only in France and England. . . . Travelers, naturalists, archeologists, who venture to enrich and even remake science, are comparatively abundant.

Sarmiento said, "The schools are the basis of prosperity and of the republic in the United States." He sent books and machinery to Argentina and, when he returned, brought with him United States teachers, who introduced both the normal school to prepare teachers and the kindergarten. About forty of these teachers arrived in Argentina between 1870 and 1898. Many of them spent the rest



of their lives there. Their graves are honored today, and schools bear their names.

While in the United States Sarmiento became a good friend of Mr. and Mrs. Horace Mann. The latter translated his book, *Facundo*, which is an attack on the dictator Rosas. The English title is *Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants, or Civilization and Barbarism*. Though this book contains historical errors, it remains great because it portrays human nature as it is; traits which manifest themselves in destructive wars which sear and scar the face of the civilized world today. The first section concerns the life of the cowboy on the Argentine plains—a life of adventure and virility. Sarmiento shows that the Gaucho has a proud disdain for the city dweller who cannot throw a fierce bull, who cannot halt a tiger with a poncho wrapped about one hand to thrust into the animal's mouth, whilst the other hand plunges a dagger into its heart. He shows how these accomplishments, with others related to overcoming obstacles and challenging nature, developed in the Gaucho a high sense of individual importance and superiority which are predominant characteristics of the present-day Argentinians.

The second part of the book contains this description of Facundo:

Facundo was short and thick-set in stature; his broad back supported upon a short neck a well-formed head, covered with very dense hair, black and curly. His slightly oval face was sunk in a forest of hair; to this corresponded an equally thick beard, equally black and stiff, which extended to his cheek bones, sufficiently pronounced to reveal a firm

and tenacious will. His black eyes, full of fire and shadowed by heavy eyebrows, caused an involuntary sensation of terror in those who might some time chance to gaze at him, for Facundo never came face to face with anyone. From habit, from art, or from a desire always to make himself terrible, he ordinarily carried his head bent low and he looked through his eyebrows.

Sarmiento returned to Argentina in 1851 and continued to attack Rosas, whose rule was weakening. Sarmiento decided to unite his fortunes with one of Rosas's former lieutenants, General Justo José de Urquiza, the governor of the province of Entre Rios. In the battle of Monte Caseros in 1852 Urquiza, with General Mitre at his side, totally defeated Rosas.

Now began the stupendous task of rehabilitation. Urquiza became president in 1854, Mitre in 1862, Sarmiento in 1868. During the intervening period the wanderer again visited the United States as Argentina's minister. His stay was a continuous ovation. Congress invited him to preside over one of its sessions—an unusual honor. The University of Michigan presented him with an honorary degree. Other educational and scientific societies honored him. Emerson and Longfellow became his friends. It was during these happy years in Washington that Sarmiento wrote his life of Lincoln. He declared at that time,

South America lacks antecedents of government in her own colonial history, for she must not ask light upon the art of governing from Felipe II or Fernando VII. Nothing better would be given us by France, whose publicists can only be pardoned, like the Magdalen, for their much loving. The political school for South America is in the United States, as the sharer of English liberties, as the creator of a government absolutely free

and very strong, by exception, which in peace has built up the most prosperous nation of the earth.

While this impetuous leader was a representative in congress, following his presidential term, an argument occurred concerning the investment of 800,000 pesos in a railway between San Fernando and Buenos Aires. Representatives considered this sum excessive. Sarmiento, however, asserted the railway would soon be worth 8,000,000 pesos. The incredulous laughter of the members stung him. He shouted, "80,000,000 pesos!" (More laughter.) "800,000,000 pesos!" Then in a voice of thundering fury, "I request the stenographers to make record of this hilarity in the minutes. I wish the generations of the future to appreciate my unshakable confidence in the progress of my country and at the same time (sweeping the seats with a contemptuous glance) with what kind of men I have had to contend!" The railroad of Argentina now represents a capital of more than 1,000,000,000 pesos.

Sarmiento was a man of contrasts; he lived an international life, but he loved the solitude of an island in the green stillness of the Paraná River. When he first stepped upon this island, he fired a shot into the air, imitating the gesture of the conquistadors on taking possession of new lands. He built three huts, made paths through the woods, and rowed in the waters that surrounded his idyllic retreat.

During the last part of his life he lived with his daughter, who had married a French painter, Jules Belin. In 1886, on the advice of his doctor, Sarmiento went to Tucumán. Strolling on the streets one day, Sarmiento

was recognized by a crowd, who followed him in silence and respect. He was sincerely touched by their affection and remarked, "As it happened with Dante in Florence, they stop to look at me because I am the man who has been lowered into Hades." Still seeking health, he went to Asunción, the city which is nestled in a curving riverbank. But early one morning in September, 1888, while watching the sky turn from silver to gold, he fell asleep. On this day the sun looked its last upon one of the world's great men, a man who had declared, "There is nothing and there is no one who shall hinder me."

**José María Heredia (1803-1839).** Another great writer who lived in the United States for a brief time and worked hard for democracy was the Cuban poet and patriot, José María Heredia. Cuban independence, while postponed until 1898, was the object of constant struggle from the days when other Spanish-American countries freed themselves from Spain. Because Heredia was an enthusiastic advocate of independence, he was exiled from his native land. He went to Boston, where he lived for a year in poverty and ill health, eking out a miserable existence by teaching a few classes in Spanish. The high point of this period was a journey which he made to Niagara Falls. That marvelous site inspired him to return to his writing. His "Ode to Niagara" is often called the finest description of that cataract ever written.

#### *Ode to Niagara*

Tremendous torrent! for an instant hush  
The terrors of thy voice, and cast aside  
Those wide-involving shadows, that my  
eyes

May see the fearful beauty of thy face!  
I am not all unworthy of thy sight,  
For from my very boyhood have I loved,  
Shunning the meaner track of common  
minds,

To look on Nature in her loftier moods.  
At the fierce rushing of the hurricane,  
At the near bursting of the thunderbolt,  
I have been touched with joy; and when  
the sea

Lashed by the wind hath rocked my bark,  
and showed

Its yawning caves beneath me, I have  
loved

Its dangers and the wrath of elements.  
But never yet the madness of the sea  
Hath moved me as thy grandeur moves  
me now.

Thou flowest on in quiet, till thy waves  
Grow broken 'midst the rocks; thy cur-  
rent then

Shoots onward like the irresistible course  
Of Destiny. Ah, terribly they rage—

The hoarse and rapid whirlpools there!  
My brain

Grows wild, my senses wander, as I gaze  
Upon the hurrying waters, and my sight  
Vainly would follow, as toward the verge  
Sweeps the wide torrent. Waves innum-  
erable

Meet there and madden—waves innum-  
erable

Urge on and overtake the waves before,  
And disappear in thunder and in foam.

They reach, they leap the barrier—the  
abyss

Swallows insatiable the sinking waves.  
A thousand rainbows arch them, and  
woods

Are deafened with the roar. The violent  
shock

Shatters to vapor the descending sheets.  
A cloudy whirlwind fills the gulf, and  
heaves

The mighty pyramid of circling mist  
To heaven. The solitary hunter near  
Pauses with terror in the forest shades. . . .

God of all truth! in other lands I've seen  
Lying philosophers, blaspheming men,  
Questioners of thy mysteries, that draw  
Their fellows deep into impiety;

And therefore doth my spirit seek thy  
face

In earth's majestic solitudes. Even here  
My heart doth open all itself to thee.

In this immensity of loneliness

I feel thy hand upon me. To my ear  
The eternal thunder of the cataract brings  
Thy voice, and I am humbled as I hear.

From the United States Heredia went to live in Mexico. There he attracted wide attention, not only as a writer, but as a judge of a federal court and an advocate of freedom. The centennial of Heredia's death in 1939 attracted much attention. A project to erect a monument to him at Niagara Falls has not been carried out but offers an opportunity of doing justice to this great visitor, and also of more closely cementing relations among the Americas.

#### PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION AND DISILLUSIONMENT

While the Latin Americans were wrestling with their problems, after winning independence, political divisions and dictators multiplied. Critics whined that their native lands were failures; that organization could not be achieved; that a worse state prevailed than that of colonial times. But a worthy group of philosophers appeared to combat and disprove these false claims. Francisco de Paula González Vigil of silver-rich Peru was a notable defender of liberalism. José Victorino Lastarria waged a literary battle for democracy in Chile. Another friend of freedom was found in the person of the Ecuadorean Juan Montalvo (1833-1889), who exalted Christianity as the author of democracy. Many believed Montalvo's pen responsible for the downfall of the



dictator of Ecuador, García Moreno. He attacked the next two rulers of his country with equal fervor. His diatribe against Veintemilla is particularly scathing:

Ignacio Veintemilla has not been and will not be a tyrant; his brain is so small that he is but slightly removed from the brute. His heart does not beat—it wallows in a mass of mud. His are base, insane passions. His impulses are those of matter corrupted and stirred by the devil; the first of them pride, the second avarice, the third lechery, the fourth anger, the fifth gluttony, the sixth envy, the seventh laziness. This is the composition of that piece of flesh called Ignacio Veintemilla.

**Juan Bautista Alberdi (1810–1884).** The greatest of all political writers during this epoch was the Argentinian Juan Bautista Alberdi, whose book *Bases for the Organization of the Argentine Republic* had an important influence in the forming of the country's constitution in 1853. He was to Argentina what Alexander Hamilton and the Federalists were to the United States. One of his books, *The Crime of War*, advocated the outlawry of war in much the same way as some of our contemporary North American writers since the first World War have protested against armed strife. Alberdi, like some of his brilliant predecessors, was exiled by Rosas because of his democratic beliefs (1837).

**Manuel González Prada (1848–1918).** From this galaxy of workers for democracy in Latin America, we now pick another type, Manuel González Prada of Peru. He was the great critic and radical of his time. A brilliant essayist, he was master of a faultless Castilian style, and the acknowledged leader of a whole group of young disciples. They, like him-

self, saw nothing in life but suffering and abuses by politicians. Prada's poetry is severe, free of rhetoric, often filled with satire. His prose, says one critic, "is the most limpid ever written in Peru, the most chiseled in the Americas."

In his youth Prada saw his country humiliatingly defeated by Chile, causing the loss of her precious nitrate fields. He observed the same cowardice and appeasement among politicians in his government as brought the downfall of France in 1940. Instead of harboring bitterness toward Chile, he sought to show his own country that it must reform.

"Old men to the tomb, young men to the front," he said. Naturally young men rallied to him. He founded and edited numerous newspapers which were often suppressed. He fought military dictatorships; he believed ardently in democracy. His was "the most diamondlike spirit produced by Peru, and one of the greatest by the Americas." Disappointed in the slow progress of his country, he attacked *la mentira social* ("the social lie"). Despair overcame him at times. "Littleness abounds in everything," he says, "littleness in character, littleness in heart. . . . Why deny human perversity? There are men who kill by their very shadow, like the manchineel of Cuba or the upas tree of Java." At such times he would laugh at friendship. "Our friends are accursed plots where we sow wheat and reap weeds. . . . Why desire to live? If life were a blessing, the surety we have of losing it would of itself suffice to turn it into an evil."

Following this Peruvian critic a school of writers began to study the

weaknesses of their countries and to make an analysis of their people. They saw a new imperialism in the United States, destined to overcome Latin America if she did not repair her weaknesses. They usually believed in close relations with Latin Europe. At this time three writers, Zumeta of Venezuela, Argudas of Bolivia, and Mendieta of Nicaragua wrote books with practically the same title, *The Sick Continent*.

**Rufino Blanco Fombona.** One of the most colorful of these social critics was Rufino Blanco Fombona, who was born in Venezuela in 1874. He was in and out of jail constantly until he moved to Spain. He was a great reformer with a violent temper. He developed the reputation among his friends of never returning home with his walking stick. During the day he was sure to have an argument with someone about a reform. The argument growing heated, Blanco Fombona would break his walking stick over the head of his opponent. There are stories about how Blanco Fombona formed a dislike for the United States. One of these relates to an occasion when the poet was conversing with a friend in New York. An intoxicated individual who overheard them objected to their speaking Spanish. A row occurred. Police interfered and took Blanco Fombona and his friend to jail for the night. This was an attack on their dignity that they could never forget.

In *Political and Social Evolution of Spanish America*, this critic studied the conflict of the classes during the Spanish domination. He argued that civil wars are explained by the mixed Indian populations, sparsity of in-

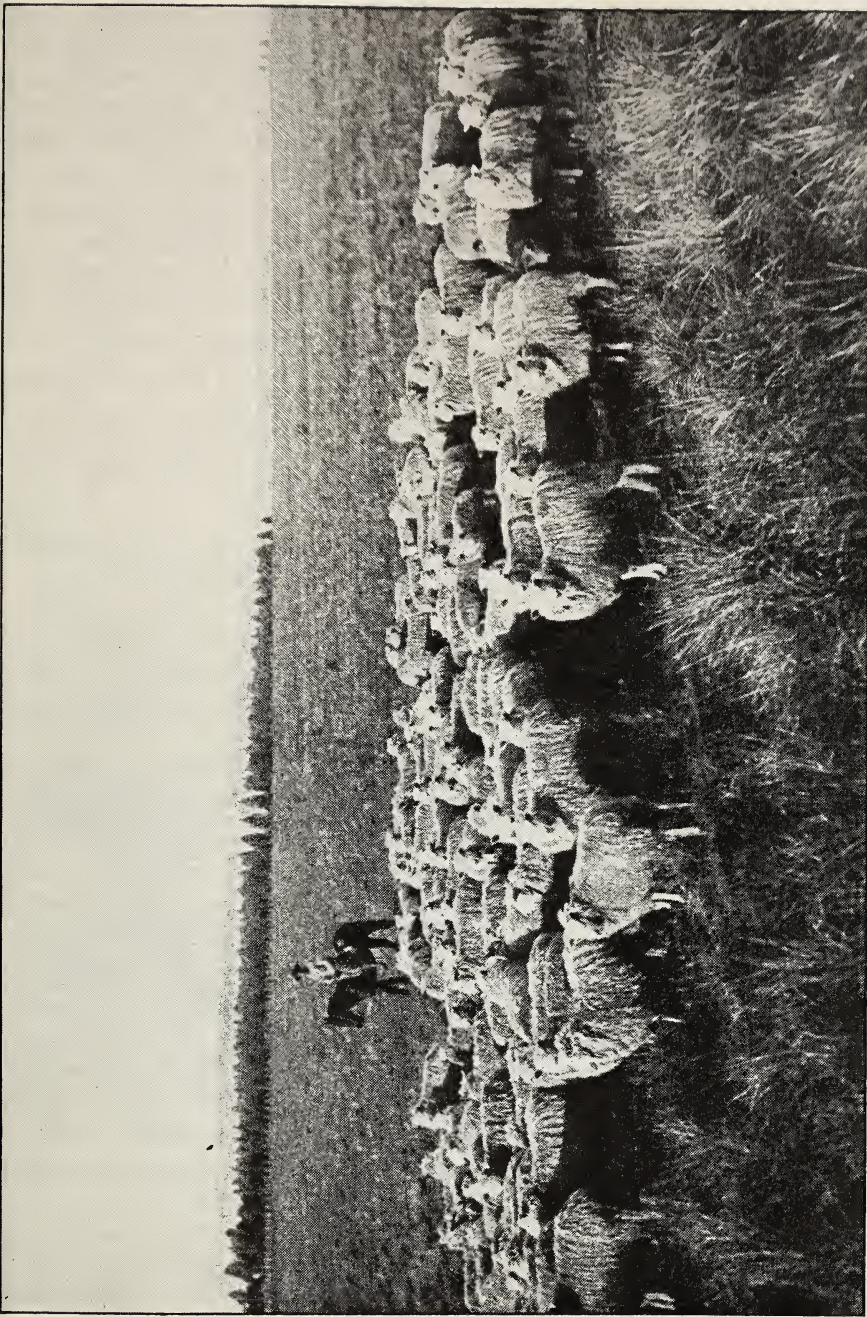
habitants, scarcity of railroads, ignorance, and lack of liberty. In spite of these things he believed in the great destiny of the continent. He worked out these problems in his two novels translated into English under the titles, *The Man of Iron* and *The Man of Gold*.

For his work on the life of his compatriot, Simón Bolívar—a manifestation of Blanco Fombona's patriotism—he was elected to the Academy of History in Spain. He has filled many diplomatic posts. As governor of the federal territory of Amazonas, a grim region near the Colombian frontier where law was largely a matter of personal opinion, he became familiar with scenes, types of people, and situations that have been recreated in several of his stories.

The great interest in Blanco Fombona's works is attested by their having been translated into many foreign languages: English, French, Italian, Russian, and Swedish. His short stories are characterized by brevity, irony, and vivid emotional effect.

**A Gaucho Epic.** About 1870 Buenos Aires began to forget its country cousins and transform itself into a European city. French literature was all the style. All at once the public was made aware of the great riches it possessed in the colorful life of its Gauchos, or cowboys. In 1872 the greatest poem ever written about cowboy life was published. It was entitled *Martín Fierro*, after a certain Argentine plainsman. The author, José Hernández, initiated a new kind of American literature, which has since become popular—the collecting of folk songs which record the customs of a strong frontier people.





*Photo from Philip Gendreau*

The pampas of Argentina and Uruguay are as famous in literature and history as are the great prairies of the United States. The Gauchos, their horses, herds of cattle and sheep, and campfires form the basis of many Latin-American poems and stories.



The greatest of modern Spanish writers, Miguel de Unamuno, says:

*Martín Fierro* is the most profoundly Spanish of all Spanish-American writing. When a minstrel of the pampas beneath an ombre tree, in the boundless calm of the desert or in the peaceful, starlit night, sings to his guitar the monotonous songs of Martín Fierro, then the Gauchos hear with deep emotion the poetry of their pampas. They feel surging from the depths of their soul the echoes of this mother country, Spain.

**The Payadores.** The best of these singers were called *payadores*. Many stories are told of the skill of these singers in playing and composing. Often two rival *payadores* met, and then the fun began. Men bet their horses, their ponchos, their month's pay, on their favorite *payador*. At night around the campfire the contest would begin, and one of the contenders would sing a stanza that he had composed on the spot. The other would carry on the story without hesitation. One of these stories is about the Gaucho who wanted to court the lady of his choice, but he could neither sing nor play. This called for ingenuity. He caught a handful of crickets and put them inside his guitar. At dusk he stood beneath the balcony of his beloved's house. The crickets, accustomed to sing at that hour, burst forth into a melody of sweet sounds. The effect was so novel that the lady was delighted, and the Gaucho's suit was rewarded.

#### MODERNISM

Modernism is the name given to the most important period of Latin-American literature. The movement began about 1890. Weary of the old

models, and with a new appreciation of German, French, Russian, and North American literature, writers began to break away from old forms. Liberty of expression, free verse, and new metric combinations came into being. Spiritual restlessness led to an analysis of "our tortured and complex soul," as one of the writers expressed it. This new group avowed that its "mission is to sing again of America, of Columbus, and Bolívar." It claimed to present Latin-American ideals and aspirations.

**Rubén Darío (1867-1916).** The outstanding genius of this school was Rubén Darío of Nicaragua. He has written with such beauty of form and sentiment that he is regarded by many as the greatest of modern lyricists. It is in Darío that the undertone of despair which characterized this entire school finds its most arresting voice.

Darío was born in Nicaragua in 1867. An unhappy married life separated his mother and father, and the boy spent his youth under the guardianship of different persons and in different countries of Central America. At an early age he gained the reputation of a genius both in Nicaragua and in El Salvador. While visiting Chile in his early twenties, he was offered a position on the editorial staff of *La Epoca* of Santiago. He accepted the position and immediately started on his career as a literary figure of the first magnitude. It was in Chile that he wrote his famous collection of poems entitled *Azul*, meaning "blue," a color which to him was symbolic of his ideals and dreams. This initial work in modernism caused a sensation. Before leaving

Chile, he was named correspondent for *La Nación*, the famous daily of Buenos Aires. That position, which rendered him an income for life, assured him the leisure necessary for good writing.

Darío returned to his native Nicaragua for a brief stay. His government appointed him to represent that republic in Madrid during the festivities in honor of the great discoverer, Columbus. Through travel in Spain and later in France, Darío met personally many poets and literary men who had influenced him. He was an ardent admirer of Victor Hugo, Verlaine, and other French writers. His salon became the social center of Latin-American artists and writers.

Darío's philosophy of enjoying today because tomorrow will bring disappointment is expressed thus:

Rejoice in the sun, in the pagan  
light of its fires;  
Rejoice in the sun, because tomorrow  
ye will be blind.

Rejoice in the earth, which a  
sure blessing incloses;  
Rejoice, because ye are not yet  
buried in its bosom.

It was in his beloved Paris that Darío met a young Mexican poet who was to become his lifelong friend, Amado Nervo. Nervo had made his way in poverty to Paris, the mecca of every Latin-American writer. The already well-established Darío took in the young, unknown writer and gave him a home. They became inseparable friends.

This lifelong friendship that began in Paris reminds us of the friendship of Bello and Olmeda, begun in Lon-

don fifty years before. In Madrid stands a beautiful monument marking the devotion of that city to the two poets. On one side of the stone is sculptured the likeness of Rubén Darío; on the other that of Amado Nervo.

Darío tasted all that is sweet and bitter in life. He was crowned with many honors. His cosmopolitan life was spent in Paris, Madrid, Buenos Aires, and New York. But this Bohemian existence palled on him. His last days, which he spent in Spain, were days of disillusionment.

Darío was one of a group of Latin-American writers (which included Rodó, Blanco Fombona, and Manuel Ugarte), who were frightened at the advances made by the United States following the Spanish-American War. Darío wrote a fierce attack on the United States, dedicating the poem to Theodore Roosevelt as the instigator of the revolt in Panama. This poem became so popular that it was recited in the schools and at literary events all over Latin America. A part of the poem reads as follows:

'Tis only with the Bible or Walt Whitman's verse,  
That you, the mighty hunter, are reached  
by other men.  
You're primitive and modern, you're  
simple and complex,  
A veritable Nimrod, with aught of Washington.  
You are the United States;  
You are the future foe  
Of free America that keeps its Indian  
blood,  
That prays to Jesus Christ, and speaks in  
Spanish still.  
You are a fine example of a strong and  
haughty race. . . .  
The United States are rich; they're powerful  
and great;

They join the cult of Mammon to that of  
Hercules,  
And when they stir and roar the very  
Andes shake. . . .  
And though you count on all, one thing  
is lacking—God!

Fortunately, years afterward, Darío saw things in a different light. He made up for his former attack by writing another poem entitled *Salutación al Aguila* ("Salute to the Eagle"), as a welcome to the delegation from the United States at the Third Pan-American Conference at Río de Janeiro in 1906. Here he prays for the political and material success of North America. If the Eagle will remember that the Condor, as his brother, exists also in the lofty heights, they together may achieve miracles. Swept along by the theme, he prays:

Peace to stupendous America! Peace in  
the name of God!  
And as hers is the center of a new culture  
That spreads its principles from north to  
south,  
Let us build a new union that unfurls a  
new device;  
The Star Spangled Banner with its red,  
white, and blue.

**Amado Nervo (1870–1919).** Amado Nervo was born in a little country town on the west coast of Mexico in one of the wildest regions in America. His devout mother made a fifteen-day trip in a stagecoach to take her young son to a school where he began to prepare for the priesthood. It was not long before he abandoned his studies and made his way alone to Mexico City. There he had all the adventures and encountered all the trials supposed to await a young poverty-stricken poet in a big city. Hungry and discouraged, he took a job in

a grocery store—not so much for the meagre wage as for the chance of getting wrapping paper on which he could write his verses. Later he became a famous poet.

Following a custom in Latin-American countries of making their distinguished literary men diplomatic representatives, Mexico appointed the poet to the diplomatic service in 1905 and assigned him to Spain. During his thirteen years of residence in Madrid he wrote twenty-one of his twenty-nine published volumes. His last post was in Buenos Aires, where he was overwhelmed with attentions and invitations to read the productions of his pen. When journeying to this city he passed through New York. There, at Columbia University, he entertained a large audience by reading, among other of his poems, *La Raza de Bronce* ("The Bronze Race"). A part of this poem is as follows:

I'm only a spark,  
Make me a fire;  
I'm only a string,  
Make me a lyre;  
I'm only an ant hill,  
Make me a mountain;  
I'm only a drop,  
Make me a fountain;  
I'm only a feather,  
Make me a wing;  
I'm only a rag,  
Make me a king!

Nervo is beloved by all Latin America as the dreamer and mystic who exalts suffering as life's great teacher. Thomas à Kempis, Saint Francis of Assisi, and Jesus Christ were his heroes.

Concerning Christ he said: "Cast him out of Nazareth, and he will fill the earth. Cast him out of the earth,



and he will fill history. Cast him out of history, and he will fill the Infinite."

In spite of such faith, Nervo was drawn away from his early devotion to the Church and wandered in many philosophical byways. This makes the study of the inner life of Amado Nervo as fascinating as his poetry. He is typical of the land of his birth, where both religion and skepticism find a place. If Nervo could have been a thoroughgoing skeptic or a thoroughgoing mystic, he might have been satisfied. But he could give himself completely to neither. He later came to believe that helpfulness to others was the essence of religion. He declared: "If thou hast performed a good deed, thou hast unquestionably felt a secret joy proportionate to the disinterestedness of that deed. This joy is God. Thus he manifests himself to the soul."

Nervo died while attending a Pan-American Child Conference at Montevideo in 1919. His funeral was one of the finest tributes ever paid to an individual on the American Continent. Argentina furnished a battleship to convey his body to his native Mexico. As the ship proceeded up through the South Atlantic, distinguished delegations from Brazil, Cuba, and other countries took their places in the funeral procession, which stopped from time to time at various ports, where honors were rendered to the poet. When the procession arrived at Veracruz, a national holiday was declared by the Mexican government, since the whole nation seemed desirous of rendering honor to their beloved singer.

The following extract from his

prose will help us to understand the essentially religious spirit of this great writer:

If you are small, rejoice; for your smallness serves as a foil for the largeness of others throughout the universe; because this smallness constitutes the essential reason for their largeness; and because, for them to be large, they have need that you should be small, just as the mountain, to stand out, must rise among hills, ridges, and peaks.

If you are large, rejoice; because the invisible is revealed in you in a more excellent way; for you are one of the eternal architect's successes.

If you are well, rejoice; because in you the forces of nature have reached maturity and harmony.

If you are ill, rejoice; for there are fighting in your organism contrary forces, which perhaps are seeking a beautiful result; because in you is striving that divine alchemist called Pain.

If you are rich, rejoice; for all the favors that fate has placed in your hands, that you may dispense them.

If you are poor, rejoice; because your wings will be lighter, and life will keep you less pinioned; for the Father will work in you, more readily than in the rich, the dear periodical miracle of the daily bread.

Rejoice, if you love; because you are more like God than others.

Rejoice, if you are loved; because there is in this a wonderful predestination.

Rejoice, if you are small; rejoice, if you are large; rejoice, if you have good health; rejoice if you have lost it; if you are poor, rejoice. Rejoice if you are loved; if you love, rejoice. Rejoice always, always rejoice.

#### PERIOD OF AWAKENING

**José Enrique Rodó (1872-1917).** The end of the nineteenth century marked in South America an awakening in spiritual ideals and principles. José Enrique Rodó, the greatest writer of that time and perhaps in all South

American history, stands out as a crusade for ideals. His life and writings illustrate the happiness that can come from following one's inner spiritual desires. They show also the final disillusionment which comes at beholding the triumph of baser forces. Rodó was born in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1872 of a Uruguayan mother and a Spanish father. At four years of age he read fairly well. At eleven he was editor of a boy's newspaper. At twenty-two he received from the University of Montevideo its highest degree in literature. Following the publication of a collection of sonnets and essays he was appointed professor of literature at the University of Montevideo. This position enabled him to finish his famous study about the Nicaraguan poet, Rubén Darío, and the most famous of all his works, *Ariel*. He resigned his professorship at the university in order to enter politics. He was elected to the Uruguayan congress, edited a newspaper, and represented Uruguay at the Centenary celebration of the Republic of Chile. He performed important duties for several Uruguayan presidents. He became disillusioned by the political life of the country and what seemed to him a tendency to move away from democracy.

During the first World War he was appointed as the representative in Europe of a Buenos Aires magazine. But his spirit was already broken. After he went to southern Italy, his friends lost sight of him. Later, they found him dead in a country inn. Thus ended the life of a great humanist, whose ideals could find no fulfillment in a materialistic world, torn by war.

Rodó's most famous book *Ariel* (the name of a character in Shakespeare's *Tempest*) is set in the familiar scene of the classroom. A beloved professor calls his students around him for their last meeting of the year. The old teacher pours out his heart to his students. He begs them to choose not the spoils of politics and riches, but the worship of the inner life. They must live their democracy. His ideal for America is the preservation of Latin-American dreams in this prosaic modern age. They must unite the strength of Christianity and the beauty of Grecian philosophy. All people are not the same—inequality is the rule of life. Never seek the low level of the crowd. Rivalry and utilitarianism are essential attributes of the young North American democracy. The excess of activity, the growing power of riches and commercialism in North America, work against the ideals of South America. So Rodó, the inspiring leader of young men, told the university students in 1900. Later Latin-American writers condemned him as impractical.

**Gabriela Mistral (1880- )**. The trio, Darío, Rodó, and Nervo, all died within three years of each other, in 1916, 1917, and 1919. With their passing, the leading poet in Hispanic-America is a woman—Gabriela Mistral. In one respect, at least, she is superior to all of them—in her deep sympathy for humanity, her great social passion. She has moved away from orthodoxy out into a broad, social interpretation of Christianity. A strong statement of her faith was written in an open letter to Dr. Alfredo Palacios of Argentina, in connection with the Conference on Chris-

tian Work in Montevideo in 1925. Dr. Palacios had written an open letter refusing an invitation to attend the conference. He did not believe that religion would help solve social questions. Gabriela Mistral challenged Palacios on his assertion. The ensuing newspaper debate caused much interest. The Chilean poet urged co-operation between Protestants and Catholics in overcoming the enormous trend toward materialism in Latin America.

Before this literary debate the Spanish-speaking world had begun to awaken to the fact that this unpretending schoolteacher possessed the ability to arouse in her readers the noble sentiments of Christian piety and service for childhood. In 1922 the minister of Mexico to Chile invited Gabriela Mistral to visit Mexico. So popular was she in Mexico that she remained there for nearly two years. Following this, she made a brief visit to the United States, to Italy, Spain, and other European countries, and widened her fame until it reached every corner of the world. In the few weeks in which she stayed in the United States she came into contact with representatives of its idealistic school of thought and began to appreciate what the Latin Americans call *Yanqueelandia*.

Chile welcomed her home with great enthusiasm. The government appointed her as a consul, and she has served her country in this capacity in Madrid, in Lisbon, and in Central America. She has been active in the International Commissions of Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations. She has become a world citizen, traveling wherever she hears the

call of humanity and international friendship.

The writings of Gabriela Mistral are scattered in the periodicals of Europe and America. The United States had the privilege of bringing out the first complete volume of her poems, entitled *Desolación*. The following poem shows the poet's admiration for childhood:

#### *Little Hands*

O little hands of children,  
O little asking hands,  
Thine are the world's green valleys,  
Thine are its golden strands.

O little hands of children  
Molded so satin fine  
The golden sheaves bend lowly  
To touch thy dimpled line.

O little anxious hands  
Under the trees upstretched,  
The reddening fruit, the swelling buds  
Are thine, are thine, all thine.

Thine are the golden combs  
Dripping with honey sweet,  
And man? Alas! he passes  
Nor sees nor understands.

O little pleading hands  
Hands of earth's humble and lowly,  
Blessed are they who fill thee  
Blessed are they and holy.

And blessed, oh blessed art thou  
Who hearing and heeding their plea,  
Restore to their asking hands  
The world of their heritage.

#### THE NOVEL

Poetry and political writings have been more popular in Latin America than the novel. Writers of novels have usually been more anxious to emphasize a truth or to bring about the downfall of a dictator than to write an interesting story. That is



the case of one of the earliest Argentine novels translated into English, *Amalia*.

**Amalia.** Written primarily as an indictment of the Argentine dictator Rosas, who had exiled the author, José Mármol, the action of *Amalia* centers on attempts to overthrow the dictator by men who are working against him in Montevideo, in Buenos Aires itself, and in the southern provinces of Argentina. Rosas is pictured as keeping his men in mortal fear of him, in exulting in the blood lost by rebellious subjects. He forces his daughter to associate with the riffraff who have joined him and to bear their insults without complaint. He seems to have kindness for no one, only zeal for keeping the country under his iron hand. His unscrupulous sister-in-law heads a network of spies. If she discovers anything suspicious in the actions of a citizen, he is immediately imprisoned or killed, and his wealth is confiscated.

The plot revolves around Eduardo, who attempts to escape to Montevideo to join an army opposing Rosas. He and his companions are set upon by Rosas's men. Eduardo, seriously wounded, is rescued by his friend Daniel, who takes him to the home of his cousin, Amalia; Amalia nurses the wounded man and insists on his remaining with her until he is well. Before he leaves, his whereabouts is discovered. He escapes, remains away for a time, then returns to marry Amalia. Just as the wedding ceremony is concluded, Rosas's soldiers break into the house, and Eduardo and Daniel are killed.

This story, written by a romanticist, exaggerates Rosas's cruelty. However,

it gives a fairly accurate account of Argentine life in 1850. At the present time the novel is especially interesting, for it shows a government in which dictatorship has no regard for individual rights and personal property and which maintains itself by terrorizing the citizens.

**María.** The famous novel, *María*, written by the Colombian, Jorge Isaacs, is a beautiful, sentimental description of life on a large frontier in Colombia in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is the novel which has had a wide circulation in Latin America, and it is also well known in English translation in the United States. María, as a baby, is taken into her rich uncle's home and is treated as a member of the devoted family. She and Ephraín, her oldest cousin, are just beginning to fall in love when he goes off to the city to spend six years at school. Upon his return their romance flourishes. Ephraín's father opposes the marriage and, though he finally gives his consent, it is on the condition that the boy shall go away again for a long period of study, this time to Europe to become a doctor. María becomes ill while he is gone and dies at the hour of his return.

The story tells more than the history of a thwarted love. Ephraín and his father administer the affairs of the hacienda. The boy goes on exciting hunting excursions into the depths of the jungles. He and his college friends discuss literature and philosophy. The portrayal of family life and of the beauties of the Colombian countryside are excellent.

**Broad and Alien Is the World.** The novel has recently had a new birth

in Latin America. It is being widely used today as a means of social reform. A publishing house in New York in 1940 offered a prize for the best novel written that year in Latin America. Both the first and second prizes were awarded for stories that advocated the improvement of the Indian. The brilliant young Peruvian, *Ciro Alegría*, won first prize with his book, *Broad and Alien Is the World*. Alegría is a member of the leftist political party of Peru, called *Apra*. He was exiled from Lima by the conservative government and went to live in the backwoods of Peru among the Indians. He took up writing as a means of reforming the abuses of the Indians. Although his book contains episodes as exciting as any that have ever been written, it did not win the prize for that reason. Its chief importance lies in its absorbing descriptions of Indian life in Peru. The novel concerns itself with the plight of the Indians in their relationships to the aristocratic landowners and government officials. We are first shown the deep tranquillity of Indian communal life and the absorbing love of the people for the land and crops which are theirs. Here are some passages which illustrate Alegría's style:

Fatigue always makes the journey home seem longer. But as they started down the last slope they saw afar the friendly lights of the village, glimmering sweetly in the darkness. This sight cheered them and gave them new strength. There were their homes, their land, everything that was their life and their happiness. . . . They forgot their weariness, and even the horses in spite of the brambles quickened their pace. . . .

The crop was divided among the vil-

lagers, according to their needs, and the remainder was to be kept for sale.

Somebody had spilled a little wheat in the square, and Rosendo Maqui began to shout:

"Gather that wheat up, gather it up right away. I would rather see money thrown away than God's grain, our food, man's blessed nourishment."

Gradually one begins to see the manner in which these Indians are being kept in poverty and ignorance through the greed of the aristocrats, who think of them as little better than animals. The following quotation, masterful in its simplicity, shows well this attitude:

Porfirio Medrano, who was beside Rosendo, remarked:

"The rich are always rich, and for all its weight, money never comes down . . ."

The mayor nodded his head and uttered one of those phrases for which he had been long famous:

"And if it does come down, it falls on the ground so that the poor man has to grovel to get it."

Alegría's passion for reform carries the reader along from one interesting situation to another. Not only is he eloquent in his plea for the cause of the Indian, but his beautiful style, almost poetical in quality, makes of the book an outstanding literary contribution.

*El Indio*. In Mexico the annual prize offered by the government was won, in 1938, by a novel concerned with the treatment of the Mexican Indians. The author, Gregorio López y Fuentes, gives his book the simple title, *El Indio*. No character is named, no village identified in this book. This may seem somewhat strange to Anglo-Saxon readers, yet the innovation is refreshing. The author's sincere

concern for the Indians is manifest in the discourse between the bureaucratic town officials and the sympathetic, tolerant schoolmaster. The former, who had always maltreated the Indians, speaks first:

"They are loafers, drunkards, thieves—a disgrace to the country! If the federal government would only give me the authority, I would march into all the ranchos with blood and fire and kill them off like beasts of the jungle!"

The schoolmaster listened patiently for awhile and then said quietly, "Well, I have a different theory about this question of the natives. Some think the Indian settlements should be colonized with whites; others consider that the problem can be solved with schools—those who hold that idea have created the word "assimilation"; but to accomplish that we need more than schools. The fact that the Indians have fled to the wildest part of the sierras shows only one thing—they do not trust us. . . . The truth is this: they have a profound distrust of us, stored up through the centuries. We have always deceived them and now they believe in nothing except their own misfortunes. . . . They mistrust us on a scale that begins at the lowest levels of the valley and reaches from the edges of the rivers to the highest mountain peaks. . . . They climbed as if escaping from a flood, until they came to where they live now."

"But your theory, señor?"

"My theory rests on restoring confidence by kindness, because fortunately the Indians are appreciative. Give them some real help. For this, there is nothing like roads. Highways teach the language better than schools. Then bring the teacher—someone who knows the customs and feelings of the Indians. Given such consideration, they would work much better—either on the land that they have or the land that would be given to them."

Anyone who is even slightly familiar with the Mexican people and the

new effort to incorporate the Indian into national life will gain from *El Indio* the content and color that make the facts live.

**Don Segundo Sombra.** Turning to Argentina, we find another type of development which represents certain aspects of national life. A versatile owner of a big Argentine *estancia*, or cattle ranch, Ricardo Güiraldes, in his story, *Don Segundo Sombra*, gives us a realistic and understanding picture of the activities of an Argentine cowboy, a real Gaucho who lived on the author's ranch. Güiraldes was born in Buenos Aires in 1889. He was a member of a large ranch-owning class that ruled the country. He spent most of his time in travel. His last days were spent in Paris, where his success as an author was first recognized.

The book, *Don Segundo Sombra*, was published in 1926 and immediately brought fame to its author. Around the life of Don Segundo were woven descriptions of bronco-busting, round-ups, camp-fire stories, fights, and all the varied experiences so fascinating in the life of the Argentine pampa. Waldo Frank, in his introduction to the English translation, says that this book occupies in Argentinian letters a place not unrelated to *Huckleberry Finn* in the United States. Both books tell an exciting story of adventure from the standpoint of a boy, in a boy's own language; the boys in both stories are typical products of their respective worlds. Yet these are more than adventure stories, for they give classic pictures of the traditions of the common people.

The closing words of *Don Segundo*



*Sombra* tell of the separation of the young man, after he had inherited a fortune, from his old foster father, Don Segundo:

Little by little my new character and tastes developed. . . . The lessons of my teacher, Don Leandro, the books, a few visits . . . to Buenos Aires, gradually made me over to what is called an educated man. Yet nothing could take the place of my experiences on the ranch. Though I would follow the new road, something untamed and hostile from my old life still remained.

This afternoon I faced the hardest blow of all. [I had to say goodbye to my old godfather.] It was impossible to hold him back any longer. I had begged. . . . But he was born to go—always to go. And the attraction of a trail was too strong in me not to make me understand how, for Don Segundo, life and the road were one.

So the young hero and the old man ride over the hills to the spot where they had agreed to say good-by. They clasp hands in silence. The young man, remaining with his new book learning, watches his old Gaucho friend, fleeing from the oncoming machine age, ride over the hill and disappear. As he sees the figure of the old cowboy for the last time, silhouetted against the sky at sundown, he realizes that it is good-by forever. Thus ends the book:

"*Sombra*—a shadow!" I exclaimed. Then I thought, almost violently, about my godfather. Should I pray or should I allow my sadness simply to flow? I know not how many thoughts overwhelmed my loneliness. But they were the things that a man does not confess even to himself. I concentrated my mind on the small details of the moment. I turned my horse about and slowly returned to the ranch. I moved as one whose lifeblood was gradually oozing out of his veins.

*The Vortex. La Voragine* ("The Vortex") is another type of story. It is written by the young Colombian poet, José Eustasio Rivera, whose death in New York in 1937 was mourned by his many admirers in the United States, as well as in Latin America. His book is unique in all Latin-American literature—a thrilling account in gripping prose of human, animal, and plant life in the tropics. It describes a journey of the author and his companions to the wild jungles of the Amazon Valley. The cruelties practiced by man and nature alike in that dark, over-powering, mysterious world terrify the reader. No one can fail, for example, to be moved by the description of the invasion of an entire community by an army of tropical ants. They move in and possess a whole section of land. All life, human and animal, must flee before that devastating army of ants. Equally moving is the picture of the rubber workers and the repulsive surroundings under which they labor.

Like several other outstanding Latin-American novels, *The Vortex* reveals the feeling of discontent and mystery in the Hispanic character. Rivera ends his story with the hero leaving on a long, mysterious journey. It is, strangely enough, exactly the same way that *Don Segundo Sombra* closes. This kind of ending is much more pleasing to the South American than to have the hero marry and live happily ever afterward. The last words of the book tell us that the hero and his sweetheart are adventuring farther into the jungle, hoping against hope that those members of the party left behind will be able

to overtake them with food. The hero speaks:

"We will go on and search for the way! If we are lost, we will leave big fires burning in our path. Don't delay! We only have provisions for six days. Remember the fate of our other companions who were lost. We go forward, then, in the name of God!"

In the epilogue we are told that the explorers were never found. "The jungle devoured them."

These few novels, out of a rapidly growing list, will serve to illustrate the recent development of the social novel in Latin America. As to the future, Luis Alberto Sánchez, the Peruvian writer who came to the United States in 1942 to study our literature, says:

Our revolution will come. Those of us who have longed for riches produced by the machine are now getting tired of the bill collectors, tired of an industrial life which enslaves them to the foreigner. Already the revolution begins. Chile is returning to her love of Creole poetry. Argentina enjoys Güiraldes, with his Gaucho fantasy. After years of surrender to the foreign immigrant, that country longs again for a little poetry. Uruguay insists again on its polished philosophy, whose greatest representative, in spite of so much recent criticism, was Rodó. America, a novel country without novelists, is now attracting attention. Fore-runners like Isaac's *Maria* prophesied this. As for North America, her literature has already received recognition by the award of the Nobel Prize to Sinclair Lewis. Today our South is complying with an old adage and is writing in its own blood. This blood is the soil, the sky, and the human element in our daily experiences. This human America is unknown to the outside. But it will be revealed clearly when novelists appear to discover and interpret the life of this New World.

## BRAZILIAN LITERATURE

The Portuguese were not so much interested in developing the intellectual life of their colonists in the New World as were the Spanish. The printing press and the newspaper did not appear in Brazil until the opening of the nineteenth century. Few writers of the earlier period are especially noted.

**Brazilian Poetry.** Gonçalves de Magalhães (1811-1882) is the first representative of the romantic school in Brazil. His poems are marked by a triumph of faith and exaltation of the divine. His contemporary, Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864), was more famous and by some considered his country's greatest poet. His lyrics sing themselves into the soul and his descriptions of Brazilian scenery and Indian life are impressive.

One of the things that all Brazilians remember about Gonçalves Dias is the tragedy of this great poet's death. Forced to live for many years as an exile in Portugal, the glad day finally arrived when he was permitted to return to his native land. However, within sight of the shore, his ship was capsized and the poet was drowned. Brazilians are reminded of this tragedy when they read Dias's lines, written in exile, and memorized by every Brazilian school child:

My land has spacious palms where the  
song birds roam,  
The birds that sing here sing not as those  
at home

Our skies have brighter stars, our valleys  
have more flowers,  
Our forests have more life, our life has  
more bowers

My land has spacious palms where the  
 song birds roam;  
 God guard me from death till I am safe at  
 home!

Joachim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908) was one of the first exponents of naturalism in the Portuguese tongue. As the most distinguished of Brazilian writers he was made the first president of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, founded in 1897. The hundredth anniversary of the birth of Machado de Assis was the occasion of a revaluation of his work which confirmed definitely his overwhelming importance in Brazilian letters. His thirty-one volumes were produced while he was employed in a government office. Going back and forth from office to home, with only a visit to the bookshop of his publishers for variety, seems to have been his unailing program. He did not travel or engage in social life, and the wonder is how he was able to know the characters he depicted so well.

Antonio de Castro Alves (1847-1871) was the first Brazilian to stress social justice in his writings. He was especially vocal in his denunciation of Negro slavery. The intensely lyric and imaginative tone of Castro Alves's poetic style is evident in *O Livro e a America* ("The Book and America"), where he chants in cosmic terms:

Fashioned for greatness,  
 Carved out to grow, to create, to rise,  
 The New World in his muscles  
 Feels the sap of the future.  
 One day Jehovah, sculptor of colossal  
 statues,  
 Tired of other designs, said:  
 "Go, Columbus, raise the curtain  
 Of my eternal workshop . . .  
 And bring forth America."

Still wet from the deluge,  
 Like some mighty Triton,  
 The continent awakes  
 To the universal concert.  
 Of the surrounding oceans  
 One brings the arts of Europe,  
 Another, the spices of Ceylon,  
 And the Andes lift their arms of solid  
 rock,  
 Pointing to the infinite.

Gazing about, America exclaimed:  
 "All, all moves forward! Oh, great God!  
 The cataracts toward the earth,  
 The stars in their courses,  
 And on the far shores around the pole  
 The ocean takes its flock of waves to  
 graze.

I want to march with the winds,  
 With the worlds, with the firmaments!"  
 And God replied: "March!"

Various schools blossomed in the field of poetry featuring cults of "green-yellowism" (green and yellow are Brazil's national colors), anecdotism, and folklorism. Among the poets who have distinguished themselves mention must be made of Casiano Ricardo, author of "Martim Cerere"; Jorge de Lima, who reflects the mystical trend in vogue in contemporary Brazil; Raul Bopp, who in "Cobra Norato" presented his country with one of its best folklore poems; Mario de Andrade, one of the first to write in "Brazilian language."

**Brazilian Prose.** In the first year of the twentieth century Euclides da Cunha (1866-1900) published what was to become one of the most famous of Brazilian books, *Os Sertões*. It deals with the life of the wild hinterland, described around the revolt of a religious fanatic who had been pursued by the government into the interior hills. Equally famous is the novel *Chanaan* ("Canaan") written by Graça Aranha (1868-1931). It



deals with the distressing conditions among German immigrants in the state of Espirito Santo. These two works, one a scientific and poetic description of life in the interior, the other likewise a discussion of Brazil's problem in the hinterland, but dealing with the foreign immigrant, contributed much to Brazilian social literature. Manoel de Oliveira Lima (1867-1928) was beloved alike in his native Brazil, in Europe, and in America. He wrote on a wide number of topics, and collected a remarkable library which he later presented to the Catholic University in Washington, D. C.

At the outbreak of the first World War the nationalist spirit intensified in Brazil. In this movement a São Paulo group headed by Monteiro Lobato, short-story writer and owner of a publishing house, took the lead. He believed that the true Brazil was found in the interior, free from all European influences. In 1922 the São Paulo *Semana de Arte Moderna* ("Week of Modern Art") was emphasizing nationalism on the one hand, and stimulating literary individualism on the other.

In the past few years while José Lins do Rego describes in his novels the conflict between the old rural and the new industrialized civilization, Jorge Amado develops in his social novels an openly revolutionary approach.

Brazilian literary circles were stirred in 1941 by the appearance of a realistic novel of the first order by a young author, Tito Batini. *E Agora Que Fazer?* ("And now what is there to do?", or in American slang "Where do we go from here?") is a story about

the building of a railroad on the frontier. The incidents depicted could easily apply to such a United States venture as the building of the Union Pacific, when foreign labor and foreign capital aided in developing our great West. Working on the Brazilian Northwestern Railway, which opened up the state of São Paulo, were Italians, Portuguese, Argentines, Frenchmen, and mulattoes. The center of the stage is held by an Italian worker and his family, through whose loves and struggles we realize the terrific cost in human material of the building of such a pioneer civilization.

The Brazilian writer best-known outside his own land today is probably the historian and critic, Gilberto Freyre. His principal volume thus far is *Casa Grande Senzala*. It has stirred much debate among the intelligentsia, for it endorses race mixtures, praises the contributions made by Negroes to Brazilian life. The race problem and other social questions have stirred a large school of new writers.

Brazilian critics of today are engaged in an exhaustive study of the country's literary past. There is likewise a new effort toward reknitting the intellectual contacts with the mother country, Portugal, as well as enlarging such relations with neighboring South American nations, especially Argentina, often considered Brazil's greatest rival.

#### RECENT LITERARY TRENDS

When the United States became closely associated with its Southern neighbors in the practical efforts to win the second World War, a much larger interest in all phases of Latin-American life developed. A student

of Latin-American affairs was asked as to what the people of the other Americas were thinking. In order to get an accurate answer, he gave several days to reading a large number of magazines from the various Southern republics. His first impression was of the large number and superior quality of these publications.

Even professional journals had, in addition to articles on economics, medicine, and housing, literary treatises of merit. As he proceeded, it became evident that there were three dominant trends in those publications. The first was a new appreciation of the United States. The second trend was the new demand for social justice. The third emphasis was an insistence on the need for developing a new American culture.

**New Appreciation of the United States.** A decade ago the outstanding writers of Latin America were berating Yankee imperialism. Today a majority of them advocate co-operation with the United States. This does not mean that our neighbors have forgotten the days when we used to send our marines to intervene in their affairs. Nor are they less critical of the materialistic tendencies in our life. It does, however, mean that the Good Neighbor Policy, on the one hand, and the powerful threat of Adolf Hitler, on the other, persuaded them to cast their lot with us in the greatest struggle for freedom the world has ever known.

One of the writers who has recently become a close friend of the United States is the Chilean poet Gabriela Mistral. While she was a guest of the Mexican government in 1932, reading her poems to the school children, she

wrote an article on the influences that united Spanish America. In this article she mentioned a number of things that brought these people together and closed by saying that the two most important elements of unification were the beautiful Spanish language and their mutual suspicion of the United States. The article was reproduced in *La Nueva Democracia*, a Spanish magazine published in New York, with a note by the editor inviting the writer to visit that city. In a letter of thanks, Señorita Mistral declined the invitation. She added, however, that she was expecting soon to spend a day in New York while transferring from a Mexican to a Spanish boat. On her arrival some of her admirers met her at the dock. They invited her to tea in a Park Avenue home and asked her to read her poems that night at Columbia University. Her reception was so enthusiastic that she decided not to sail on the following day. When Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union was notified, he arranged a reception for the poet in the nation's capital. The reception was attended by a brilliant group of diplomats and writers. Gabriela Mistral remained in the country for six weeks. The friendship between the United States and the Latin-American poet, which was formed at that time, has been a lasting one.

At the Buenos Aires Peace Conference in 1936, which was attended by President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull, strong evidences of a changed attitude toward the United States were found. A dinner was given in honor of a member of the United States delegation. One of the guests

was the distinguished senator and rector of the University of La Plata, Doctor Alfredo Palacios, who had at one time traveled from Buenos Aires to Mexico City warning Latin America against the United States. It was a memorable hour for all present when Palacios, in a solemn moment in the conversation, said to the North American: "You win. We must admit that the old imperialism is gone. We must now regard the United States as the champion of the democratic forces of the world." Each one of that group, whose pens are influential throughout Latin America, are now writing in hearty support of the United States.

**Demand for Social Reform.** The second dominant note that appears in the pages of Latin-American magazines is the demand for social reform. Latin-American writers, even more than those in the United States, appear to have recognized that the present war is really two wars. It is a titanic military struggle between the United Nations and the enemies of civilization. It is also a world-wide social revolution. Not only must the democracies win the war in order to save their political liberties; they must also clean house and dispense social justice to the mass of human beings who have hitherto lived below the margin of decency. The fact that the United States Government has recently been emphasizing the nation's responsibility for the underprivileged has played a part in building up a new appreciation for that country. Again, the settlement of the difficulties between the United States and Mexico, without forcing Mexico to eliminate its social laws in order to placate special interests of the United

States, has influenced many Southern writers to appeal to their countries to support the United States in its opposition to the Axis.

An illustration of this new interest in social justice, especially for the proletariat, or laboring classes, is found in the following statement, printed in the Ecuadorian publication, *America*:

What interests us in these national commotions is not what general may have been executed by the orders of some other general, but what is the destiny of the cane cutter of Cuba, the coffee planter in Brazil, the peon on the Argentine stock farm, the miner in Peru, the grape cultivator in Chile; in a word, what interests us is the destiny of the proletariat.

Another illustration of this newly awakened social awareness is found in the following extract from the writings of the young Venezuelan poet, Miguel Otero Silva:

### *The Drill*

The drill enters the earth,  
Venezuelan earth.  
The Venezuelan man  
Sweats, and sweats again.

Rattle of Yankee machines,  
Cry of the Yankee engineer.

Muscles are taut and strong,  
Venezuelan men,  
Mulatto, Indian, Negro,  
Opening up the womb  
Of the Venezuelan boilers.

The Venezuelan men  
Are coming home to the shanties,  
Dirty and tired and hungry.  
Four malarial children  
Eating the dirt for food.  
A trickle of greenish water  
Gives the warning of fever.  
His woman is waiting for him  
Disheveled and full of fear:

Royal Dutch, Standard Oil!  
How the stocks are rising,



The dividends increasing!  
Venezuelan oil,  
Unreturning oil.

Rattle of Yankee machines,  
Cry of the Yankee engineer,  
Passage of Yankee boats.

The Venezuelan man  
Sweats, and sweats again.

#### THE SEARCH FOR AN AMERICAN LITERATURE

The third theme sounded over and over by Latin-American writers today concerns the need of a vital New World culture. What some critics call the best literary journal published today, entitled *Sur* ("South"), is edited in Buenos Aires by a lady famed in three continents for her intelligence, hospitality, and charm, Señora Victoria Ocampo. Señora Ocampo invited a group of well-known writers from several American republics to discuss the question, Is America a Continent? That is, how far are the twenty-one American republics a unit; and to what extent do they still remain separate and individual nations in spite of the fact that they live side by side on the same continent? Most of the group agreed that there has been considerable lack of unity up to the present time but all stressed the need that writers work toward this objective.

America, North and South, has depended long enough on Europe. We in America must now assume the leadership of the world. We must create our own culture, our own philosophy, our own theories of racial relations and social organization as well as our own religious and educational ideas. Since America can never separate herself from the rest of the world, she must now accept the responsibilities growing out of her position.

Every American nation is contributing its part to the new civilization of the Western Hemisphere. The United States is the nearest approach to a political democracy. Uruguay comes closest to being a social state. Mexico is working out a new conception of the use of land and resources for the common man, especially the original American. Brazil offers the idea of a new "cosmic" race, with the lowering of barriers between white, black, and tinted peoples. Canada exemplifies the best traits of the British Empire combined with the buoyant spirit of American freedom. So from Alaska to Cape Horn, from pole to pole, we must "think continentally." We must work for an American culture suited to a New World where each individual is given his own place and government is organized for service to all.

## Words to Learn

Bohemian	idealism	proletariat
Castilian	modernism	romanticism
<i>payadores</i>	mystic	utilitarianism

## People to Identify

Alberdi	Güiraldes	Olmedo
Alegria	Heredia	Prada
Bello	Hernández	Nervo
Castro Alves	Gabriela Mistral	Rodó
Darío	Blanco Fombona	Silva
	Montalvo	

## Learning through Discussion

1. Discuss the importance of the fact that a printing press was sent from the United States to Chile in 1810.
2. Why are Olmedo and Bello called "the Damon and Pythias" of the independence movement?
3. Discuss the literary controversy Sarmiento engaged in with Bello.
4. What is the theme of Sarmiento's novel *Facundo*?
5. Sarmiento wrote a biography of Lincoln with a very sympathetic understanding of this wartime president. How was this possible?
6. Why is it proposed that a statue be erected to Heredia at Niagara, New York?
7. Why is Alberdi compared to Alexander Hamilton?
8. What events caused Manuel González Prada to become a radical and to use his pen in the service of reform?
9. For what poem is Hernández famous? Why is it so popular?
10. Discuss the significance of Darío's two poems, one to Theodore Roosevelt and the other called "Salutation to the Eagle."
11. What kind of person was Amado Nervo? Illustrate his characteristics by using the quotation from his works given in this chapter.
12. What was Rodó's advice to young men, as contained in *Ariel*?
13. What are Gabriela Mistral's views about religion and social problems?
14. What is there about the poem "Little Hands" that you think shows Gabriela Mistral to be a great poet?
15. What similarities do you see in the writings of Ciro Alegria and Gregorio López y Fuentes?
16. What is meant by the statement that *Don Segundo Sombra* is to Argentina what *Huckleberry Finn* is to the United States.
17. What is there about *The Vortex* that makes it a gripping story?
18. Explain the three dominant trends which were found in the Latin-American magazines of 1942.
19. What two forces have caused Latin-American writers to be more favorable to the United States than they were before 1933?

20. Name two Latin-American writers who have changed their minds about the United States.
21. What did Castro Alves write about in his poetry? How do the lines from *O Livro e a América* impress you?
22. Discuss the theme of Toto Batine's novel *E Agora Que Fazer?* What is the significance of the title?
23. What answer did Señora Ocampo receive to her question: Is America a continent?
24. What special contribution is each of the following nations making to the continent: the United States, Uruguay, Mexico, Brazil, Canada?

### Projects and Problems

1. Choose sides, as for a spelling bee, and let a leader give out the names of authors discussed in the text. The side that identifies the most authors as to country and type of writing (poetry, history, novel, etc.) wins the contest.
2. Dramatize the schoolroom scene in Rodó's *Ariel* in which the feelings and beliefs of the author are portrayed through the beloved teacher who pours out his heart to his students.
3. Make a sketch of the Gaucho who could neither sing nor play, but who won his lady through the singing of the crickets which he placed in his guitar.
4. With the help of your speech teacher organize a choral-speaking choir which will present some poems, in translation, by Latin-America's greatest modern poet, Rubén Darío.
5. After carefully rereading Sarmiento's description on page 360, make a cartoon of Facundo.
6. Write an article telling about Sarmiento's second visit to the United States, including the purpose of his visit, the honors received, the work carried on, and the friendships made not only for himself but also for his country.
7. After reading the life stories of Abraham Lincoln and of Sarmiento, write a comparison of the two men.
8. Sketch the scene in José Hernández' epic poem, *Martín Fierro*, described on page 366.
9. Memorize a few lines from your favorite Latin-American poet. Quote these in class, either in an English version or in the Spanish original. Portuguese also will be acceptable if any member of the class knows the Portuguese language.
10. Consult the *Reader's Guide* for reviews of recent Latin-American books. Report on these to the class.
11. Make a mural of scenes depicting the fascinating experiences and traditions of the people on the Argentinian *estancia* which Güiraldes has woven around the life of Don Segundo. Close with the figure of the old man riding over the hill, silhouetted against the sky at sundown.
12. Read in translation Darío's famous poem, "Ode to Roosevelt." In this poem the author contrasts the differences between North America and South America. (a) Make a list of these differences. (b) Account for the attack upon Theodore Roosevelt.



## XXI. ART IN LATIN AMERICA

The growth of art in Latin America has followed the same historical periods as has the development of political, economic, and literary life in these Southern countries: pre-colonial, colonial, independence, and modern.

Pre-colonial art in Latin America was that of the original inhabitants of the country and expressed devotion to nature and pagan gods. The colonial period was mainly concerned with art which glorified the Christian religion. During the period following the acquiring of independence the art forms reflected the influence of Europe, particularly of France. Modern art is often devoted to the idea of social reform.

### THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

Little is known about the art of the Indian civilizations of Latin America before the period of conquest. A few records, however, of the Aztec, Mayan, and Incan civilizations have been preserved. They, together with the writings of the conquerors, provide us with some knowledge of the art forms of these early peoples.

The earliest Indian records were in the form of books made of bark or animal skins especially treated and protected by thin wooden covers. The pages were cut and bound much as are those of our own books. Priests

and wise men spent their lives painting little colored figures on these *anales*, as they were sometimes called. They pictured strutting warriors marching to battle, kings and judges squatting patiently in judgment, and figures of the plumed serpent, representing the power of the gods, flying through the air.

When the conquerors arrived in the New World, they found that the Indians used their art forms to represent and glorify their various gods of nature, among which were those of corn, rain, thunder, and reproduction. This devotion to nature and religion was largely expressed in sculptured figures, in the architecture of their temples and tombs, in decorative pottery, in metal work, and in textiles.

**Pottery.** In the making of pottery, the more-advanced tribes of Mexico and South America gave free rein to their ingenuity and their sense of humor. The Chimu of Peru were known for their cleverness in designing jars and pots in the form of human heads. They made strong faces of warriors that are so real they seem even now to be on their way to war. There were faces of worn men and women who lived all their lives carrying heavy burdens, their gaze as dull and hopeless as the dead clay of which they were fashioned. Frequently pots



*Photo from Monkmeyer Press Photo Service.*

These ornaments on the pyramid in Teotihuacán, Mexico, representing the plumed serpent god, are a good example of the enduring art of the early Mexicans. Teotihuacán was the center of Toltec culture.

and jars were decorated with lifelike designs of corn and other patterns taken from life.

**Sculpture.** Related to pottery was the art of sculpture. The Indians chipped the images of their gods out of hard, volcanic stone or jade or carved them out of bone. Most of the stone images were completely covered with solid designs and symbols, such as that of the god of corn, who sported a huge feather headdress and a train of pheasant plumes. These sculptors were extraordinarily fond

of animals and highly skilled in catching their moods.

**Textiles.** Textile designs were an important part of Indian art. Robes for the nobles and vestments for the high priests, made from cotton, were printed or woven with striking forms and colors. Some of these colors were sharp and brilliant, others were soft and foggy, running together like those of the rainbow.

**Metal Work.** The native craftsmen also knew the art of working in such metals as gold, silver, and copper. In





*Photo by Mrs. Branson De Cou*

A study of the many expressions on the faces of these pottery jars made by the Chimus of Peru shows that these early Americans possessed a high degree of skill in modeling and a keen sense of humor.





*Photo by James Savders*

Peru has recently awakened to the value of the tapestries, pottery, and other remains of Inca and pre-Inca art and displays them with pride in her modern museums. The tapestries shown here are in the Lima Museum.

fact, it was the quantity of charms, jewelry, household wares, statuettes, and masks made of these precious metals and found by the Spaniards, which aroused the tales of treasure which trickled back to Spain during the period of the conquest.

**Architecture.** Nothing in native art was as impressive and as lasting as its architecture—especially its temples. Perched on top of enormous pyramids and reached by hundreds of steep steps, these temples were literally covered with intricate stone carvings.

**Summary.** Indian art, whether in painting, sculpture, pottery, metal craft, or architecture, was strong, simple, and warm. The Indian artisans knew their materials thoroughly,

whether these were stone, jade, cloth, clay, or gold. Their statues and the figures on their pottery, representing gods and warriors, are executed with remarkable vividness of expression.

#### THE COLONIAL PERIOD

With the settling of the Spaniards in the New World began a second period in art. Along with their ideas on war, religion, and property, the Spaniards had very strong ones on art, especially religious art. They imported painters, sculptors, architects, cabinetmakers, and wood carvers who immediately put the Indian craftsmen to work. The Indians were accomplished builders and easy to train. They were skillful workers. All mate-

rials, however coarse or humble, in their hands turned into something creative. They worked in clay, iron, wood, jade, gold, silver, marble, bone, hides, and wax. They also used paints for decorative purposes.

The first thing the Spaniards did was to build churches, convents, and monasteries—hundreds of them. It was slow, painstaking work. The cathedral of Morelia was started in 1640 and was not consecrated until 1745—more than a hundred years later. A young architect would start the work on one of these buildings, grow to be an old man on the job, and finally pass it on to another young architect who in turn passed it on to another. The resultant buildings, many of which are in existence today, were a splendid combination of the best of European art and native art. The original designs were usually brought from Europe. The Indians were given a model and aided in the first construction by a European. Later, they often proved superior to their instructors in the development of beautiful columns and intricate decorations. Thus it was that the European influence on Latin-American art during the colonial period was somewhat tempered by the less formal executions of the Indian.

#### THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE

When the colonies became independent from Spain and Portugal, a feeling of loneliness came over them. They were like a young person who leaves home, seeking freedom from parental ties, and then wanders for a time without friend or companion. It was not that the young nations entirely forgot Spain and Portugal.

Rather, it was that the wounds inflicted throughout fifteen years of war for independence placed a great spiritual barrier between them and their mother countries. What should these new republics do for comfort? They sought companionship that would dispel their loneliness and bring them inspiration. This companionship they found in France.

It was the turning to France for cultural guidance after independence that caused French ideals to dominate the art of Latin America until the period of the first World War. This period was, indeed, the era of the triumph of French culture all over the world.

In the nineteenth century the official academies of the fine arts in the various Southern countries were nationalized. They continued, however, to be staffed by Europeans. In Brazil a new imperial academy was organized, but a commission of French architects, painters, sculptors, and engravers was invited to teach the courses. At this time it was possible to find the pupils of one popular French master dominating the academies of three Latin-American countries. Reactionary, supremely satisfied with what they had learned in France, they taught a competent technique but ignored the local problems with which they were confronted. Generations of pupils were denied their aid in finding national subjects as themes for their works and thus went on painting portraits, landscapes, and historical pictures as though they were working in Parisian studios. Their eyes were on the French Salon, and its standards were their only guide. Each year they imitated what had



been praised in Paris during the preceding season. All thoughts of national identity were lost in the universal desire of ambitious students to become a part of that glittering international world. Funds were raised and scholarships provided for study in Paris. The greatest hope of these young artists was to be mistaken for French painters. This accounts for the strange manner in which certain talented Latin-American artists turned their backs upon their native lands. Carlos Bacaflor, when in his early twenties, left his native Peru for Paris, never to return. He later worked in New York for two decades, but as a talented European rather than as a Peruvian. Don Nicanor Plaza, Chile's greatest sculptor, did not send his work to Santiago until after it had first been shown in the French Salon. The Uruguayan, Blanes Viale, lived on the French Riviera, painted only the landscapes of that colorful locality, and was delighted to be taken by tourists for a genuine French impressionist. These men either forgot that they were Americans or shrugged their shoulders at the idea because they knew of no real American art.

Europeans later helped the Latin Americans discover and take advantage of their own possibilities. Imitative, traditional painting was continued, it is true, but it was a far-more-profitable kind of imitation than had been practiced before.

A national consciousness in art slowly came to life. The hitherto-forbidden subject of local customs, types, and scenery began to be explored. Pancho Fierro, a Peruvian artist of the nineteenth century, has

left us a splendid series of water-color drawings of people of all classes of Lima society in the 1840's—in their houses, on their promenades, in church, and at business. Fierro's series closely parallels the work of his distinguished countryman, Ricardo Palma, who was the master in Latin America of the local-color tale. The same kind of art work was done in Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. In Argentina there was a whole school of native Gaucho painters. This school has continued to the present day. The Uruguayan master, Juan Manuel Blanes, made splendid use of Gauchos, peasants, and soldiers. He used them in symbolic historical paintings which laid the beginnings of a national tradition in art.

#### MODERN ART

Many Latin-American artists who had lived abroad before the first World War had to return to their native America when the war started. Only then did they begin to appreciate the artistic inspiration of their original habitation.

**Mexico.** The tremendous social upheaval in Mexico—the Revolution—was responsible for the starting of the remarkable school headed by Diego Rivera and honored by such names as José Clemente Orozco, David Alfaro Siqueiros, and Miguel Covarrubias. Primarily interested in man rather than nature, these artists believed that the main use of art was for propaganda purposes. Imbued with the spirit of the Revolution, they decorated the walls of public buildings with the subjects and scenes for which their fellow countrymen had struggled so fiercely. It is doubtful whether





*Photo from Black Star*

This scene from Mexican folklore, painted by Diego Rivera, is one of the murals on the walls of the Reforma Hotel, in Mexico City.



there is in all history any such revelation of the new impulses of a people as in these marvelous murals which decorate the halls of the university, the Ministry of Education, the National Preparatory School, and the Presidential Palace in Mexico City.

This school of artistic endeavor has given Mexico the distinction of being the first American country to find its national identity in art, and the first American country that could compete on equal terms with the national schools of Europe. The work of men like Rivera and Orozco has been accompanied by a flowering of the folk arts and an extraordinarily successful program of teaching in the famous open-air schools of Mexico. This program is one in which many Indians have participated and which has trained another generation of craftsmen.

**Peru and Bolivia.** The example of Mexico had a direct influence on the modern art movement in Peru and Bolivia. In these countries there had also been a long background of Indian civilization and, more important, the Indians constituted a large element of the population. During the 1920's a strong, indigenous movement was born. Although this movement is not yet as developed as the Mexican school, it has made special contributions of its own.

In Peru José Sabogal, Julia Codesido, and Camilo Blas, who are in control of the government school of fine arts, have substituted an Indian for a European point of view. It is the landscape, the Indian types, and the customs of particular regions which inspire their work. They see life through the eyes of the Indian

and limit themselves to an exclusively Indian repertoire of village officials, teachers, peasants, and local festivals set against the majestic scenery of the northern Cajamarca and the highlands of the south. Unlike the Mexicans, Rivera and Orozco, these artists present no stirring social message. But it must be remembered that Peru has had no political revolution like that of Mexico, that the Peruvian Indian is still "unredeemed," and that the question of his economic position and future role in the life of the country is still unsettled.

The old Inca traditions in art have been revived by the Bolivian sculptress Marina Nuñez del Prado, by the painter Cecilio Guzmán de Rojas, whose talent was revealed especially in painting scenes of the Chaco War, and by Antonio Sotomayor, who, after studying in Europe and the United States, returned to his native Bolivia to depict the Indian in his environment of earth and stone.

**Brazil.** It is customary to trace the growth of the modern art movement in Brazil to the Week of Modern Art, a program held in São Paulo in 1922. At that time a group of young intellectuals, most of whom have since become internationally known, agreed in the future to write, compose, and paint along strictly national lines. In Brazil the Indians were not a national factor, but the Negroes were. Most of them had arrived as slaves from Africa two centuries before. With them they had brought all sorts of traditions, jungle art, and voodoo magic. These they had kept as part of their lives in the new country, and these, absorbed into local Brazilian culture, gave it the exotic qualities

supplied elsewhere by the Indians. Taking advantage of the remarkable tolerance and friendliness of the Brazilian people, the Negro race had already distinguished itself in cultural fields. The young intellectuals felt that Brazilian artists of all shades of color, in their artistic endeavors, should take advantage of these contributions. The music of Villa-Lobos and Francisco Mignone, the novels of Jorge Amado and José Lins do Rego, and the poems of Manuel Bandeira show how successful this effort has been. The color and rhythm of the Negro spirit has given a whole new range to American art.

Cándido Portinari and Cicero Dias are two painters who have done outstanding work in expressing Brazilian life. Portinari, like Rivera in Mexico, has created a school of his own within the general modernist movement. In 1935 he won one of the most coveted prizes of the Carnegie International Exposition for his painting of a coffee crop. Later he distinguished himself at the New York World's Fair through his Brazilian murals. In 1941 the governments of Brazil and the United States sponsored, in the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, a series of four murals by this great artist. In these paintings Portinari produced scenes which were symbolic, not only of the early history of his own country, but which were applicable to other parts of South and Central America as well. His concern for the common man is well shown in the first of these murals. It portrays the arrival of ships bringing men from Spain and Portugal to the New World. Characteristically, this painting is dominated not by the captains, or

the admirals, or the priests of the conquest, but by the common sailors who manned the fleet.

**Argentina and Uruguay.** In Argentina the cultivation of native themes has been notable in the works of Cesareo Bernaldo Quirós, the sculptor, and of such painters as Luis Perloti, Benito Quinquela Martín, and Alfredo Guido. It has been said that Argentine painters differ from the Mexican school since they are not provided with the passionate rhythm or with the pictorial tradition inherited by Mexican artists.

Benito Quinquela Martín is one of the greatest of Latin-American artists. He was born in a section of Buenos Aires, La Boca, which corresponds to the Bowery of New York City. He was orphaned when a child and, as a young "wharf rat," began sketching with charcoal on the sides of goods boxes. Today his murals adorn many of the public buildings of Buenos Aires and, transferred to brilliantly colored tile, delight travelers waiting for trains in the elegant subway stations of the city. But Quinquela Martín still lives with his people in La Boca. In his studio on the top floor of a large six-story building which he has given to his community for study and recreation, he looks out on the boats, the nets, the freight in the harbor, and the people that have been his life companions. As he talks, one can feel the soul of the artist going out to his neighbors. He loves the United States, where his exhibits have been warmly received.

In Buenos Aires and Montevideo there is greater technical artistic accomplishment; there are more museums, and more exhibitions than any-



where else in Latin America, except in Santiago de Chile. It is possible to see the work of all the current European schools in these cities. The result is that, in Buenos Aires especially, there exists a great mixture of European and native techniques. Every French and Italian master has his group of devotees. There are painters, like Emilio Pettoruti, who are pure cubists who stress abstract form at the expense of other pictorial elements. There are others who have imitated surrealism, with its tendency toward painting such subjects as grand pianos on the seashore and the Venus de Milo riding a bicycle. There are still others who imitate the Indian subject matter of their neighbors and who have used also the idea of the Negro in art. Then there are such artists as Gramajo Gutiérrez, who paint nothing but Argentine scenes and characters, featuring especially the life of the cattle herders and the Buenos Aires industrial workers. Their style is realistic and closely resembles the work of the late Grant Wood. These artists form a school of Argentine regionalists who have thought that by using only Argentine scenes and characters they could create something new and original. But, as one Uruguayan painter said, "Most of our fathers were from Northern Italy; our cities look like Milan and our landscapes look Italian. How can we paint anything different?" Because of European influences—more especially the Spanish—Argentina faces a similar problem in the attempt to recreate a truly Argentine art.

**Summary.** In every country of Latin America is to be found the earnest search for more adequate forms to

interpret the various regions constituting Hispanic America. There are elements in each of these countries that are beginning to make themselves felt as distinctive characteristics in the art of the separate nations. From Buenos Aires, which is now the publishing center for the Spanish-speaking world, there comes a steady stream of excellent books on Argentine art. Outstanding among these is the great three-volume work of José Pagano which traces the work of Argentine painters from the eighteenth century to the present day and contains special chapters on architecture and sculpture. Across the Plata River, in Montevideo, the Laboratory of Art in the National University is carrying on a related work of equal importance for Uruguayan art. This it is doing in close conjunction with an admirable periodical of scholars, the *Review of the Friends of Archeology*. In Brazil the youthful Service of the National Historic and Artistic Patrimony of the Ministry of Education has provoked such interest and approval that it is constantly expanding its activities. The movement is spreading to Central America, where in the past three years the governments of Honduras and Nicaragua have set up national schools of art with instructions to explore the possibility for similar work in those republics. In Ecuador, in Cuba, and in Colombia important research with semiofficial sponsorship is now under way.

A final aspect of the recent development of Latin-American art lies in the visits of artists and art historians from the other American republics to the United States. The exchange of materials and traveling exhibitions

go a long way toward making the art of various countries mutually known and understood. But an understanding of the underlying factors that produce the art of a foreign country can be gained only by personal visits. Hitherto Latin-American artists, if they traveled at all, went to Europe to study and to see the museums. Mindful of this fact, both the Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs and the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State in the United States have made travel grants available to some of the outstanding personalities in the field of art in Latin America in order that they may come to this country.

Although they are visiting the United States in increasingly large numbers, Latin-American artists have little opportunity to go to each other's countries. Between Habana and Santiago de Chile, Mexico City, and Rio de Janeiro, distances are enormous and travel is expensive. As a result, artists know very little of each other's problems and each other's work. The Bolivian Indian painter often has no understanding of what is going on in Cuban art. The Guatemalan student of his country's folk art is generally ignorant of what has been accomplished in Peru and Argentina. This situation applies alike to art, music, and literature as well.

### Words to Learn

regionalists  
realism  
murals  
*anales*

surrealism  
cubist  
jungle art

### People to Identify

Cándido Portinari  
Marina Nuñez del Prado  
José Clemente Orozco  
Cesareo Bernaldo Quirós  
Nicanor Plaza

Camilo Blas  
Diego Rivera  
Quinquela Martín  
Pancho Fierro  
Juan Manuel Blanes

### Learning through Discussion

1. In what way has the development of art followed the development of other phases of life in Latin America?
2. What Indian peoples of the pre-colonial period showed the greatest development in art?
3. In what special ways did the Indians show their artistic ability?
4. What is the particular place of pottery as the revealer of the history of primitive Americans?
5. How do the churches and monasteries which have survived in Latin America reveal to us the colonial life of the Spanish and the Portuguese?
6. When did France begin to occupy a dominant place in the art of Latin America? Explain how this came about. To what extent is this true today?

7. How far did the political and economic upheavals in modern Latin America influence the recent revolution in art?

8. What are some of the reasons why Mexico was the leader in the recent awakening of Latin-American countries in art?

9. Is the European, Indian, or North American influence the greatest in Mexican art? Does the same hold good in regard to Bolivia and Argentina? What racial influence predominates in modern Brazilian art?

10. Is it wise or patriotic for the Library of Congress to engage the artist Portinari of Brazil to paint murals in that library, and Dartmouth College to engage Orozco of Mexico to paint murals in the college library?

11. What building has the largest amount of modern mural paintings on its walls and by whom were these done?

12. Do you agree with Diego Rivera of Mexico that a painter should use his art for propaganda purposes? Is this a new idea?

13. What agreement did the Brazilian cultural leaders make in the 1920's? Is such an agreement right? Do you think it benefits or harms art for artists to enter politics?

14. What special position does art hold in Argentina and Uruguay?

15. Do young artists in the United States have opportunities similar to those seized by Quinquela Martín of Argentina? Do you know any who have aided their people as he has?

16. Should subways and similar public places in the United States seek to use art as has been done in cities like Buenos Aires, or is such a practice unsuited or unnecessary in our more practical life?

### Projects and Problems

1. Collect pictures illustrating different phases of Latin-American art and place them on the bulletin board.

2. Make an oral report on one of the following topics. Illustrate your talk with pictures and sketches.

- (a) The art of the Indian in the pre-colonial period in Latin America
- (b) Spanish art in the colonial period in Latin America
- (c) Modern art in Latin America



## XXII. LATIN-AMERICAN MUSIC

The place of music in Latin America has been carefully studied and clarified by the Section of Musical Research of Montevideo's Institute of Higher Education. In 1936 the institute published its first *Boletín Latinoamericano de Música*, which is concrete testimony to the fact that Latin America is vitally concerned with music. Under the able guidance of Professor Francisco Curt Lange composers from several countries have brought out an annual volume of the "Bulletin," expounding the musical heritage of the Indians, the Spanish influence, and the current nationalistic movement. By means of such publications, and by Latin-American musical festivals such as those celebrated in Bogotá during the fourth centenary of the founding of that city, the place of music is being emphasized. Radio has been especially effective in revealing the musical genius of Latin America.

### THE PRE-COLONIAL PERIOD

There are few sources of information concerning the music of the Indians of Latin America at the time of the conquest. The sparse knowledge which is available comes from the reports of the conquerors. There are descriptions which indicate that the people of these early civilizations were

fond of music and that the chiefs often had groups of singers about them. There seem even to have been a few schools for musical training. The instruments of these Indian tribes of Latin America were very simple. Most of them were of the percussion type such as the *maraca*, a gourd filled with seeds. These Indians had some of our modern sentimental feeling also, for they used a type of flute for their love songs. However, there was never any accompaniment to their songs of victory and triumph; these were vocal only. Even today one can find a few Indians in the more isolated parts of Latin America who still cling to the old music in celebrating their ceremonies and religious rites.

When the Spanish conquistadors arrived in the New World, they brought with them ballads which were sung by soldiers around the campfires.

### THE PERIOD OF COLONIZATION AND INDEPENDENCE

During the colonial period much of the Latin-American music was of the religious type. Music was essential in the church, and the early fathers found the Indian youth gifted and quick to learn. In 1525 Fray Pedro de Gante founded the first school of church music.



*Photo by James Sawders*

**Dancers with plumed headdresses made of ostrich feathers perform on the streets of Sorata on festival days. Sorata lies at the foot of Mt. Illampu, highest of the Bolivian Andes. Feather work was an early native art.**

**Folk Music.** During this period there was also a great development of native folk music in Latin America. Argentina was perhaps the first of the countries to develop music of this type. The Gaucho, as he rode over the vast pampas, led a lonely life. From this loneliness developed songs which showed the influence of the open country of the pampas on the life of the people of southern South America.

The importation of Negro slaves brought a new emphasis to the character of Latin-American music. The slaves were brought to work on the sugar and tobacco plantations. At

night, after the work of the day was over, they spent much of their time in singing. The Latin Americans were tolerant in permitting the Negroes to follow the customs of their homeland, customs which were rich in emotion, mystery, and priestly mutterings. From these the Negroes composed music of their own, the essence of which was African.

The Spanish, Negro, and Indian influences were the three chief components of the music of Latin America during the colonial period. Each country has developed certain folk music which is characteristic of its own peoples.



### THE MODERN PERIOD

Among contemporary Latin-American composers the best known are probably the Brazilian, Heitor Villa-Lobos, and the Mexican, Carlos Chávez. Other outstanding figures are the Argentinians, Juan Carlos Paz, Enrique M. Casella, Honorio Siccardi, and Juan José Castro; the Peruvians, Carlos Sánchez, Malaga and Andre Sas; the Chilean, Pedro Humberto Allende; the Bolivian, Antonio Gonzales Bravo; the Colombian, Guillermo Uribe Holguín; the Uruguayans, Eduardo Fabini and Vicente Ascone. From Brazil came the composers who have distinguished themselves for their nationalism and modernity: Camacgo Guarneri, Oscar Lourenco Fernández, Francisco Mignone, and Benedicto dos Santos.

**Heitor Villa-Lobos.** Brazilian music is favored in the United States because of its close alliance with some of our more sophisticated Negro music. The Brazilian composer has a huge source of material for a musical background. He not only has the Negro melodies, but also the songs brought over by the conquerors and those of several different Indian groups. This country's famous composer, Heitor Villa-Lobos, is the most outstanding and the best known of all those in Latin America, with the possible exception of Carlos Chávez of Mexico. Villa-Lobos is a musical genius who has put endless effort into finding the sources and proper backgrounds for his compositions. He has always been a champion of native music and has made such a deep study of the folklore of Brazil that his music offers a significant picture of his native land.

His works have been presented in the United States and Europe by leading orchestras.

In contrast to earlier Latin-American musicians Villa-Lobos did not go to Paris until he was forty-one years old. Even then he made it clear that he did not go to learn but to show Europe what he, as a Latin American, had done, and to play for them the music he had composed. He has a strong belief that Latin-American composers must produce regional music, instead of imitating Old-World production. His slogan is, "Better something bad which I have developed myself, than something good derived from others." Villa-Lobos is one of the few outstanding composers of the twentieth-century world.

In 1932 he returned to Brazil from world-wide concert tours and has since practically given up composition in order to devote himself to the cause of raising the cultural level of the Brazilian school children.

**Carlos Chávez.** The most important contemporary Mexican composer, and the one who is most widely known in the United States, is Carlos Chávez. In his work he has completely ignored the European styles and moods. Instead, he has gone back to the Mexico of the past, reconstructing the spirit of Indian ceremonies and rituals without actually incorporating the Indian melodies. He feels that the musicians of Mexico must be thoroughly familiar with their Mexican heritage, for until they are they will not write Mexican music, but will go on believing that it is necessary to continue in the European traditions. He feels that, without a knowledge of Mexican tradition and a belief in Mexico's fu-



ture, they will annihilate all expression of the natural qualities peculiar to the Mexican people and their country. Chávez himself believes that a Mexican music exists which has a character and vigor of its own. His own compositions need no explanation. The sound and rhythm tell a story that all can understand.

Chávez not only has written many great compositions, but he has made long strides in the development of musical education in Mexico. He has reformed the study program at the National Conservatory and is doing much to make the folk music of Mexico come alive in the hearts of its people.

**Summary.** The love of music, and the mingling of the strains of the past are present in every Latin-American country. The greatest problem confronting the composers of these Southern republics is the necessity for the development of a style which is typically American. There has been too great an emphasis upon copying the methods and styles of the European masters. This emphasis has not aided the growth of the entirely new type of music which, nevertheless, is slowly but surely developing on the American continent.

Today an appreciation of modern classical music is spreading, especially in the large cities. There are symphony orchestras in a number of capitals. Brazilian composers have written more than a hundred operas. The works of the European masters, like Bach, Schubert, and Beethoven are played more and more. Although

only a small number of people have the opportunity to enjoy them, in time they will be appreciated and loved even by those who cannot sit in the expensive seats of the opera houses. For example, one small village to which there was not even a road practiced regularly Schubert's *Serenade* and one of Liszt's Hungarian rhapsodies. In this same village, when the natives, mostly Indians, heard Franck's *D-Minor Symphony*, they gravely asked that it be played over so that they might learn it.

Music is also becoming more important in the schools. Children's choruses are found in many cities. Hundreds of boys and girls often sing together in the choruses organized and conducted by such great composers as Villa-Lobos. Even in the remote rural sections, music has its place in the schools.

The two outstanding characteristics of artists and musicians, as well as the writers of the Americas today, are their emphasis upon American subjects and their depicting of social problems. Modern American artists and writers are unabashed propagandists. They are overwhelmed with their belief in America and in social justice. They want to paint, to write, to play their very best in order to convince the world concerning these two consuming passions. For four centuries Europe dominated the intellectual and spiritual expression of America. But today the pen, the brush, the musical instrument, are dedicated to, and inspired by, the ideals of the New World.

### Words to Learn

folk music  
classical

*maraca*  
percussion

### People to Identify

Heitor Villa-Lobos  
Francisco Curt Lange  
Camargo Guarnieri

Carlos Chávez  
Juan Carlos Paz  
Eduardo Fabini

### Learning through Discussion

1. What are the three racial strains that have most largely influenced music in the Latin-American republics? Does the answer differ for Brazil, Argentina, Peru, and Cuba?

2. How far did the Catholic Church influence music in the colonial days? To what extent does it exert such influence today?

3. How much influence does the United States have on the musical tastes of our Southern neighbors?

4. What was the place of folk songs in Latin-American colonial life? From where does most of the Latin-American folk music sung today come?

5. What is the attitude of Villa-Lobos of Brazil toward European music?

6. How has Carlos Chávez of Mexico been received in the United States? Is this due primarily to his musical ability or because the United States desires to make friends with Mexico?

7. Which is more likely to be familiar with the works of the great European composers, a high-school student in the United States or one in Latin America?

### Projects and Problems

1. Write to the Pan American Union for the words and music of the national anthems of the Latin-American republics, and learn to sing your favorites. You will also find *Canciones Panamericanas* (Silver, Burdett Company, New York, 1942) a good source of Latin-American songs that you will enjoy.

2. Draw pictures of musical instruments (pipes, marimba, etc.) that are typically Latin American. Explain how each is played and how it is used. Try to obtain some records featuring these instruments. You may wish to begin with the record "La Cumparsita" (Victor 38008), an Argentine tango.

3. Give a talk on the influence of Latin-American music (rumba, tango, etc.) on the music and dancing of the United States.

4. Work out original dance steps to music with the tango rhythm or other Latin-American rhythms.

# Reading Lists for Part Four

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### XXIII. EPILOGUE: THE UNITY OF A CONTINENT

We have reached the end of our voyage. Like Columbus of old we have not understood all we have seen. But we have been delighted with the new world that we have discovered.

In the first part of the journey we took a rapid glance at the whole scene of Latin America. What were the outstanding impressions? Here are a people who have lived off the line of travel for centuries. But the world is now beating a path to their door. Every other section of the globe is endeavoring to make friends with these Southern Americans. They have finally awakened to their opportunities for occupying an important place in the world's life. Here one of the world's great problems, racial relations, is being worked out harmoniously. Whites, blacks, Indians, Africans, Europeans, Asiatics, have found out how to mix together for the benefit of all. Geographical riches are everywhere in evidence: the Caribbean Sea, washing the shores of a dozen delightful republics and hundreds of tropical islands famous in story and song; the snow-capped Andes Mountains, in which are some of the most lofty cities and the most astounding methods of transportation on the globe; the great pampas of Argentina and neighboring lands, where

a hungry world can find much of its needed bread and meat; the vast valley of the Amazon, mysterious and challenging, with its rubber and other tropical products necessary for the happiness of the industrial North. Today, new means of transportation, increasing immigration, and a developing educational program prophesy an important future for this section of the world. Each of these developments offers challenging topics for the student and a possible job for those who desire to help promote the development of this new American frontier.

In the second section of our journey we examined the past of our American neighbors. We found their experiences were similar to our own. They too were ruled for centuries by their mother European government. They too threw off the yoke of oppression and established independent republics. They too have gone through a long struggle to establish democracy at home and to resist conquest from abroad. Comparable to Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin are Bolívar, Juárez, and Sarmiento. With less education in self-government they have paralleled our struggles to maintain federal unity in a diversity of states, to at-

tain an honest ballot, to educate the masses, and to eliminate the distinctions of classes.

In spite of a general similarity of experience, we found that each Latin-American nation has had its own peculiar history and its own great leaders. In learning to know these leaders, we developed a new appreciation of the life of each of the republics.

Relations between our own country and the Latin-American republics were the next subject of our study. We discovered that the business of being a Good Neighbor has been difficult. In the first hundred years of the life of the continent the United States was largely interested in its own affairs. It failed to meet the friendly advances of the Southern republics. The interesting question was often raised by Latin Americans as to how far the Monroe Doctrine was a protection and how far it was a threat. The Good Neighbor Policy of recent years proved an aid in securing the

backing of the Southern nations in the war against Axis tyranny. We found that economic co-operation and the exchange of students, artists, books, and other intellectual agencies between the Americas had recently improved. But the Good Neighbors of the Americas still have many problems to solve before they become understanding and mutually admiring neighbors.

After considering the facts about the Latin Americans and our relations with them, we then turned to a consideration of their ideals. What kind of writers do they have? What kind of pictures do they paint? What do their musicians, their buildings, their intellectual life tell us about the culture of the other Americans? The study of these more spiritual aspects gave us a new appreciation of our neighbors and leaves us with the question of how we may further develop mutual understanding between the Americas.



# APPENDIX

## CHRONOLOGY

### OUTSTANDING EVENTS IN LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- 1492 Columbus discovers America
- 1493 Line of demarcation of Pope Alexander VI
- 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas, the result of which gave Portugal title to Brazil
- 1496 Founding of Santo Domingo
- 1500 Brazil discovered by Cabral of Portugal
- 1502 Negro slavery introduced into the New World
- 1513 Pacific discovered by Balboa; Florida by Ponce de León
- 1516 Discovery of Río de la Plata by Díaz de Solís
- 1519-21 Mexico conquered by Cortés
- 1524 Council of the Indies organized
- 1531-33 Francisco Pizarro conquers Peru
- 1532 Founding of São Vicente, first colony in Brazil
- 1537 Founding of Asunción
- 1541 Founding of Santiago de Chile
- 1549 Founding of São Salvador, later known as Bahia
- 1551 Founding of universities of San Marcos (Lima) and Mexico
- 1570 Inquisition introduced into Spanish America
- 1571 Execution of Tupac Amaru, "the last of the Incas"
- 1580 Founding of Buenos Aires
- 1588 Spanish Armada defeated
- 1595 Sir Walter Raleigh sails up the Orinoco River
- 1610 First arrival of Jesuits in Asunción
- 1621 Dutch West Indies Company chartered
- 1623 Founding of St. Kitts, first English colony in the West Indies
- 1654 Dutch driven from Pernambuco
- 1673 Present city of Panama founded
- 1697 France acquires western Haiti
- 1763 Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil
- 1767 Society of Jesuits suppressed in Spanish colonies
- 1777 Treaty of San Ildefonso signed by Spain and Portugal
- 1804 Haiti achieves independence
- 1806 Buenos Aires captured and lost by the British
- 1806 Francisco Miranda leads a patriot expedition from New York to Venezuela
- 1807 Government of Portugal removes to Brazil
- 1807 Montevideo captured and evacuated by the British
- 1808 Ferdinand VII, king of Spain, abdicates
- 1810 Independence movement begins in Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina

- 1811 Paraguay, Venezuela, and Ecuador proclaim independence
- 1813 Colombia and Mexico proclaim independence
- 1814 Ferdinand VII restored in Spain
- 1814-40 Dr. Francia is dictator of Paraguay
- 1816 Argentina proclaims independence
- 1817 San Martín defeats Spaniards at Chacabuco, Chile
- 1817 Portuguese capture Montevideo, which temporarily becomes Brazilian territory
- 1818 Chile proclaims independence
- 1819 Bolívar crosses Andes and conquers New Granada
- 1821 Peru, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and El Salvador declare independence
- 1822 Brazil secures independence with Pedro as emperor
- 1822 San Martín withdraws from Peru and South America
- 1822 The United States recognizes the independence of various Hispanic-American states
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine promulgated
- 1825 Bolivia proclaims independence
- 1826 South America completely freed from Spain. Panama Congress held
- 1826 Bernardino Rivadavia, president of Argentina, negotiates a British loan
- 1828 Independence of Uruguay from Brazil and Argentina
- 1830 Death of Bolívar
- 1833 New Constitution of the Chilean state
- 1837-39 War between Chile and the Peru-Bolivian confederation
- 1838 Buenos Aires blockaded by French fleet
- 1844 Dominican Republic established
- 1844 Allan Gardner begins missionary work among South American Indians
- 1846-48 War between the United States and Mexico
- 1855 Railroad between Colón and Panama City opened
- 1856 William Walker becomes president of Nicaragua
- 1857 Construction of first railway in Argentina
- 1859-1862, 1867-72 Benito Juárez is president of Mexico
- 1861-65 Santo Domingo under Spanish flag
- 1862-67 French intervention in Mexico
- 1862 Bartolomé Mitre becomes president of a united Argentina
- 1865-70 The Paraguayan War
- 1865-66 Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia sign an offensive, defensive alliance
- 1866 Spanish bombard Valparaiso
- 1873 Veracruz railroad opened
- 1873 Protestant missions established in Mexico
- 1874 First South American cable laid between Pernambuco and Lisbon
- 1877-80, 1884-1911 Porfirio Díaz is president of Mexico
- 1879-83 War of the Pacific
- 1889 Brazil becomes a republic
- 1890 Organization of the International Bureau of American Republics, later changed to the Pan American Union
- 1891 Civil war between the Balmacedists and the Congressional party in Chile

- 1895 Venezuelan boundary dispute involving Monroe Doctrine
- 1898 Spanish-American War
- 1898 Cuba independent
- 1898 Puerto Rico acquired by the United States
- 1899 Guayaquil-Quito railway begun
- 1900 Publication of Rodó's *Ariel*, an appeal to youth
- 1902 International disturbance over Venezuelan debts
- 1903 Independence of Panama
- 1904 Peace between Argentina and Chile signalized by the erection of the Christ of the Andes statue
- 1905 United States assumes collection of customs in the Dominican Republic
- 1907 Latin-American nations' first participation in world peace conference at the Hague
- 1910 Beginning of social revolution in Mexico
- 1914 Panama Canal opened
- 1914 United States troops occupy Veracruz
- 1915-16 Intervention of the United States in Haiti and the Dominican Republic
- 1916 United States acquires canal rights in Nicaragua
- 1917 United States purchases Virgin Islands from Denmark
- 1917-18 Brazil, Cuba, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama declare war against Germany
- 1917 New Constitution in Mexico
- 1919 Death of Amado Nervo, Mexican poet, bringing demonstration of Latin-American solidarity
- 1919 Eleven Latin-American states represented at the Versailles Peace Conference
- 1919 League of Nations joined by Colombia, Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica, Venezuela, Peru, Paraguay, Chile, Panama, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Haiti, Uruguay
- 1920 President Brum of Uruguay proposes an American league of nations
- 1921 Colombia recognizes Panama as an independent state
- 1922-23 Brazilian Centenary Exposition at Rio de Janeiro
- 1926 Brazil gives notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations
- 1929 Treaty between Chile and Peru settles the Tacna-Arica question
- 1929 Chaco dispute precipitates armed clashes between Paraguay and Bolivia
- 1930 Revolutions due to economic and social causes in Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic
- 1931 Revolutions in Chile, Panama, Honduras, and El Salvador
- 1931 Mexico enters the League of Nations
- 1932 Signing of Argentine Anti-War Pact by South American nations during the visit of the president of Argentina to Brazil
- 1933 Geneva undertakes first settlement of American disputes—Leticia and Chaco boundary disputes
- 1934 United States withdraws marines from the last Latin-American country; abrogates Platt Amendment; signs Non-Intervention Treaty
- 1935 Uruguay, following the rest of Latin America, breaks relations with Russia; strengthening of Fascist tendencies in numerous Latin-American countries



- 1936 President Roosevelt calls Pan-American peace conference at Buenos Aires
- 1936 Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras resign from League of Nations
- 1936 Revival of plans for an American league of nations
- 1938 Consultation meetings of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs approved
- 1938 Peace treaty signed in the Chaco War
- 1939 American neutrality in relation to European War declared
- 1940 Inauguration of Inter-American Cultural Exchange program
- 1941 Japanese attack Pearl Harbor; United States, six Central American, and three West Indies republics declare war on Axis
- 1942 Mexico and Brazil declare war on Axis. Lend-lease activities extended to Latin-American republics
- 1942 American republics unanimously approve the Atlantic Charter
- 1943 Inter-American ties increased by interchange of visits by President Roosevelt to President Vargas of Brazil and to President Ávila Camacho of Mexico; interchange of visits of presidents and other distinguished citizens

#### SOME INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

- 1826 Congress of Panama, Panama City
- 1847 American Congress, Lima
- 1856 Third American Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1864 Fourth American Congress, Lima
- 1877 American Congress of Jurists, Lima
- 1887 Sanitary Congress of Brazil and the States of La Plata, Rio de Janeiro
- 1888 International South American Law Congress, Montevideo
- 1888 Central American Congress, San José
- 1889-90 First International Conference of American States, Washington
- 1898 First Latin-American Scientific Congress, Montevideo
- 1901 Second International Conference of American States, Mexico City
- 1902 First Sanitary Convention of the American Republics, Washington
- 1906 Third Conference of American States, Rio de Janeiro
- 1909 First Pan-American Scientific Congress, Santiago, Chile
- 1910 Fourth International Conference of America States, Buenos Aires
- 1911 First Pan-American Commercial Conference, Washington
- 1912 International Commission of Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1915 First Pan-American Financial Conference, Washington
- 1916 Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, Washington
- 1916 First Pan-American Child Welfare Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1921 First Pan-American Postal Congress, Buenos Aires
- 1923 Fifth International Conference of American States, Santiago, Chile
- 1923 First Pan-American Red Cross Conference, Buenos Aires
- 1925 First Pan-American Conference on Uniformity of Specifications, Lima
- 1925 First Pan-American Congress of Highways, Buenos Aires
- 1926 First Pan-American Congress of Journalists, Washington
- 1927 International Commission of American Jurists, Rio de Janeiro
- 1927 First Pan-American Conference on Eugenics and Homoculture, Habana
- 1928 Sixth International Conference of American States, Habana

- 1928-29 International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, Washington
- 1929 Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Mexico City
- 1929 Inter-American Highway Congress, Panama City
- 1930 Inter-American Congress of Rectors, Deans, and Educators, Habana
- 1930 Inter-American Commission of Women, Habana
- 1933 First Congress of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History, Rio de Janeiro
- 1933 Seventh International Conference of American States, Montevideo
- 1936 Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires
- 1938 Eighth International Congress of American States, Lima
- 1939 First Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Panama
- 1940 Second Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Habana
- 1942 Third Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of American Republics, Rio de Janeiro

## SOURCE MATERIALS

### MAPS AND CHARTS

There are several types of maps which are useful for study. There is the wall map, usually on paper, for display or for mounting. Standard wall maps of the hemisphere, or Latin America, on a roller or folded, are sold by the standard map companies in durable form. Then there are outline maps to be completed by the students.

*American Geographical Society*, 156th Street and Broadway, New York City.

List of interesting maps and books sent upon request.

*Friendship Press*, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Various wall and outline maps of Latin-American countries.

*International Map Company*, 90 West Street, New York City. Maps of South America, its mineral deposits, oil fields, provinces of the various countries, coffee industry, etc. Circular available.

*LeBaron Bonney Company*, Bradford, Mass. Picture map of the Americas, 24" x 31". Price \$2.00. Bordered by the flags of the American republics, and other information.

*National Geographic Society*, 16th and M Streets, N W, Washington, D. C., Map of South America: 28" x 39". Price 75 cents.

*Time Magazine*, Latin-American colored trade map with statistics. Free.

*Pan American Airways System*, 135 East 42nd Street, New York City. On the routes of the Clipper Ships. A picture map. Free.

*Schwabacher Frey Co.*, 735 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal., and Brentano's, New York. Miguel Covarrubias, the Mexican artist, painted six striking picture maps for the Golden Gate International Exposition. Reproductions of these six maps cost \$9.65; single maps. Price \$2.00.

*A. J. Nystrom & Company*, 3333 Elston Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Both wall and outline maps. Catalogue on request.

*Rand McNally and Company*, 536 Clark Street, Chicago, Ill. All types of completed maps; no outline maps. Catalogue on request.

*Denoyer-Geppert Company*, 5235 Ravenswood Avenue, Chicago, Ill. Both wall and outline maps. Desk outline maps of the Americas; South America; the Caribbean; and the Western Hemisphere—in sizes 8½" x 11", 11" x 16" and 16" x 22".

*A. Flanagan Company*, 920 N. Franklin Street, Chicago, Ill. Desk map stencils of South America, 9" x 12", and stamping powder. Price 25 cents. To make your own outline maps.

*Educational Research Bureau*, 1321 M Street, N W, Washington, D. C., sells a colored chart: "Pan American Histograph," by Wilgus and Gray, 17" x 22". Price 25 cents.

*Foreign Policy Association*, 22 East 38th Street, New York City. Collection of 13 charts and maps, 18" x 24", from their Headline Book, *Look at Latin America*, by Joan Raushenbush. Price \$1.00. These are excellent visualiza-



tions of important facts on present-day trade, transportation, and defense in Latin America.

*Ben F. Crowson Publications*, Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. "Our Southern Neighbors in Review": "A two-color Pan-American chart, 34" x 8", suitable for framing or mounting, covering timely and current phases of each of the Latin-American republics." Price \$1.00.

#### MOTION PICTURES AND SLIDES

Motion pictures presenting the Southern republics are continually multiplying and being improved. For this reason any published list becomes immediately out of date. *The Other Americas through Films and Records* published for free distribution by the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., should be secured as a basic list for films. The following are some of the main sources for films which can be relied upon and rented for a small fee.

Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C.

Pan American Airways, New York City

Grace Line, New York City

Eastman Kodak Company, Rochester, N. Y.

Harmon Foundation, Inc., New York City

United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Most state universities rent films through their Department of Visual Instruction.

Slides may be secured, in addition to some of the above, from the following:

*American Museum of Natural History*, New York City, offers an extensive service of slides, including at least thirteen sets dealing with Latin America, with accompanying manuscript. Charges: transportation and two cents a slide. Price 50 cents, minimum. Write for catalogue.

*Keystone View Company*, Educational Department, Meadville, Pa., furnishes black and white slides of Spanish-American countries at 60 cents each. Colored slides. Price \$1.75 each. Send for list #32.

*Society for Visual Education*, 100 E. Ohio Street, Chicago, Ill., offers picture rolls on several Spanish-American countries. Price \$2.00 a roll, with manual.

*Stillfilm, Inc.*, 4703 West Pico Road, Los Angeles, Cal., provides stillfilm strips on Spanish-American countries. Price \$1.50 a reel up.

#### MUSIC AND DANCING

Music of Latin America is already popular with students. It will contribute much to the attractiveness of the study of Southern life.

The singing of Latin-American songs may be introduced by a trained chorus. Following this, the whole group may learn to enjoy the more popular numbers.

The school orchestra and individual student musicians can render numbers for the school assembly, with appropriate introductory comment on the composer

Recordings and radio programs are easily available.

Teachers and students of music should aid in forming judgments and appreciation of the best music. The lives of such masters as Carlos Chávez of Mexico and Heitor Villa-Lobos of Brazil should be studied.

### DANCES AND FIESTAS

*Latin-American Composers and Their Problems* (pamphlet), William Berrien, Pan American Union, 1938.

*South of the Border*, Arthemise Goertz, Macmillan. Price \$3.00.

*Concerning Latin-American Culture*, D. C. Griffin (ed.), Columbia University Press, 1940. Price \$2.00. Chapter on "Music," by William Berrien.

*Latin-American Music, Past and Present*, Eleanor Hague, Santa Ana, California: Fine Arts Press, 1934. Price \$3.50. Best single volume.

*Renascent Mexico*, Hubert Herring and Herbert Weinstock (eds.), New York: Covici, 1935. Price \$2.50. Chapters on: folk dances, by Frances Toor; music, by Carlos Chávez; the fiesta, by René d'Harnoncourt.

*South American Composers*, Nicolas Slonimsky. Pamphlet reprinted from *Musical America* (113 W. 57th St., New York City), Feb. 10, 1940.

*The Song Makers*, Carleton Sprague Smith. Article in *Survey Graphic*, (112 E. 19th St., New York City), March, 1941.

*Fiesta in Mexico*, Erna Fergusson, 1934, A. A. Knopf. Price \$3.00. Descriptions of Mexican dances with references to popular music.

*Legends and Dances of Old Mexico*, Norma Schwendener and Averil Tibbels, 1934, A. S. Barnes, \$2.00. "History, art and technique of old and modern dances accompanied by instructions for their production."—*The Booklist*, vol. 37, p. 59.

*Fun and Festivals from the Other Americas*, Rose Wright, Friendship Press. Price fifty cents.

*Botsford Collection of Folk-Songs*, Florence Hudson Botsford. (English versions by American poets), Schirmer, 1930. *Songs from Latin America*. Price \$1.50.

*Mexican and New Mexican Folk Dances*, Mela S. Brewster, 1937, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N. M.

*Cancionero Popular Del Niño Venezolano*, Fernando Gabello, 1940, Ministerio de Educación Nacional, Caracas, Venezuela. Fifteen children's songs and singing games from Venezuela.

*The Everybody Sing Book*, Kenneth S. Clark, 1935. Paul-Pioneer Music Corp., 1657 Broadway, New York City. Contains the standard favorites, in English: "Ay, Ay, Ay," "Cielito Lindo," "La Cucaracha," etc. Paper, 25 cents.

*Haiti Singing*, Harold Courlander, 1939. University of North Carolina Press. Price \$3.50.

*The Other Americas*, Xavier Cugat, 1940. Edward B. Marks Music Corp., RCA Building, New York City. Price \$1.00.

*Folk Songs from Mexico and South America*, Eleanor Hague, 1914. H. W. Gray Co. Also, American Folk-Lore Society, New York City. Price \$1.00.

*Music Highways and Byways*, McConathy, Osbourne, Beattie, and Morgan (eds.), 1936. Silver, Burdett, \$1.48. Includes most Latin-American countries, arrangement for voice and piano, with English translation.

*Singing America*, Augustus D. Zanzig, 1940. C. C. Birchard & Co. Boston.  
Vocal edition, 25 cents. Piano accompaniment edition. \$1.50.

## COLLECTIONS OF MUSIC

*Partial List of Latin-American Music Obtainable in the United States*. Pan American Union, Music Series #1.

*A List of the Music of Brazil* (approximate title), Señora Barros Barreto, 1941. Music Division, Pan American Union, Washington, D. C.

## FOLK AND POPULAR MUSIC

*Argentine Tango Set No. 2*. Different Argentine orchestras. 6 discs, Decca, 20490-20495.

*Brazilian Folk Music*. Eh! Jurupanan (Coco) and Bercuise. Soprano and orchestra. Gramophone K-7075.

*Congas*. Cuban orchestras. 3 discs. Victor set 529.

*Folk Songs of the Americas*, taken from the song book, *Singing America*, 4 discs, Victor 27279-27282. Of the 23 folk songs on these discs, 9 are Latin American. For details, send for Victor leaflet.

*Latin-American Folk Lore*, Vol. I—Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, Paraguay. Guitar solos by Oyanguren. 3 discs. Decca set 174.

*Latin-American Folk Lore*, Vol. II—Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Mexico, Cuba. Decca set 186.

*Mexican Folk Music*, No. 1. Recorded in Mexico by native artists. General Records, Set G-16.

*Peruvian and Indian Melodies* (Songs in Kechua and Spanish). Columbia P-4219-M and P-4220-M.

*Sambas*. Various ensembles. 4 discs. Victor 82583-82586.

*Yaqui Indian Music*. 5 discs. General Records, set G-18.

## CONCERT MUSIC

*Tonadas* by Pedro Humberto Allende (Chile). Played by Ricardo Vines, pianist. Victor 4467.

*A Program of Mexican Music*. 4 discs containing "La Paloma Azul," "Yaqui Music," "Xochilpi-Macuilxochitl," "Huapango," "Songs Mariachi," "Los Cuatro Soles," "Danza a Centoetl." Orchestra and chorus conducted by Carlos Chávez. Columbia set M-414. Good specimens of ancient and modern music. Reconstructed Aztec instruments also used.

*Preludio A Cristobal Colón* by Julian Carillo (Mexico). Ensemble conducted by Angel Reyes. Columbia P-69734-D. Modernism shown in the use of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes.

*Sinfonia India* by Carlos Chávez (Mexico). Mexico Symphony, conducted by the composer. Victor set 503.

*Isle of the Ceibos* by Eduardo Fabini (Uruguay). Victor Symphony, 3 discs. Victor album 6-21.

*Il Guarany*, Carlos Gomes (Brazil). Overture, by Creatore's Band. Victor 35935. Also, *Il Guarany*: Gentile di Cuore, and Ballata; Bidu Sayao, soprano, 2 sides. Victor 11561. This is the best Latin-American music of the last century, in Italian opera style.



## MUSIC FOR HIGH-SCHOOL BANDS AND ORCHESTRAS

There is available now a great quantity of Latin-American band and orchestra music. Many others are being published and music teachers will soon learn about them. Items listed here may be secured from many of the large distributors for a reasonable fee.

*Capriccio Espagnol*, Rimski-Korsakov

*Tango in D*, Albeniz

*Sevilla*, Albeniz

*Gitana, Ojos Verdes*, Granados

*Bolero Ritmico*, Longas

*La Comparso*, Leucona

National anthems of the twenty-one American republics. String and piano, supplied by the Pan American Union.

## FOOD IN LATIN AMERICA

Cooking classes could prepare a number of Latin-American menus with the aid of the recipes given in the following sources. Imported foods are obtainable in most cities, especially among Latin-American colonies. Among the firms that furnish free instructions on foods and recipes are

*Gebhardt Chili Powder Co.*, San Antonio, Texas. *Mexican Cookery for American Homes*. Free.

*H. J. Heinz Co.*, Home Economics Dept., Pittsburgh, Pa. *Kitchens from Many Lands*. Free.

*Joseph Victori and Co.*, 164 Pearl Street, New York City, sells Cuban and South American foods as well as yerba mate, with gourds and silver-plated tubes for serving. Free leaflet.

## COOKBOOKS

*The South American Cookbook*, Cora, Rose, and Bob Brown; including Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies, 1939, Doubleday. Price \$2.50. *Eating Around the World*, compiled by J. E. Gourlev, Charlotte, N. C. Public Library, 1937. Price \$1.00.

*Fun and Festivals from Latin America*, Helen Garvin, Friendship Press, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City, 1935. Price 25 cents.

*Old World Foods for New World Families*, prepared by Lelia M. McGuire, Merrill-Palmer School, 71 East Ferry Ave., Detroit, Mich., 1931. Price 50 cents. A handbook of foreign cookery.

*World Wide Cook Book*, Pearl V. Metzethin, Julian Messner, 8 West 40th Street, New York City, 1939. Price \$3.00. Menus and recipes of seventy-five nations.

*Following Stout Cortez*, New York *Herald Tribune* Home Institute, 230 West 41st Street, New York City. Price 15 cents. List of Mexican and Spanish food.

## CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN STUDENTS

As a method of promoting understanding and friendship between the American republics, the development of correspondence between students of dif-

ferent countries has become popular. If this is to be promoted, teachers ought to follow carefully the procedure, since it is not free from possible misunderstandings.

Some of the agencies to whom teachers may write for aid in promoting student correspondence are:

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*The Caravan—International Correspondence Club*, 132 East 65th Street, New York City.

*Christian Science Monitor—Mail Bag*, Miss Ethel C. Ince, Editor, Junior Department, Boston, Mass.

*El Eco*, Odyssey Press, Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

*International Friendship League*, Miss Edna Mae Donough, 41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. For students above 12 years old. Enclose stamped return envelope.

*Junior Red Cross*, Washington, D. C. Correspondence is available to member groups beginning with the fifth grade and extending through senior high school. Letters are translated by the organization into the language of the countries of destination, and combined with portfolios of school work.

*National Bureau of Educational Correspondence*, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn.

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*Industries, Products and Transportation in Our Neighbor Republics*, Inclusive index and bibliography, Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

*Our Neighbor Republics*, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C. A selected list of readable books. This bibliography is annotated and includes books to be used in the third- to twelfth-grade levels.

*Latin-American Backgrounds*, National Education Association, Washington, D. C. Price 25 cents. This bibliography includes more than seven hundred items under the following divisions: The Country, The People, The Nation's Work, Transportation and Communication, History and Government, Inter-American Relations, Travel, Fiction, Biography, Children's Books, and is cross-indexed at the back by countries.

*Children's Books in English on Latin America*, No. 25. Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. Price 50 cents.

*Children of the Other Americas*, Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C. A guide to references and teaching aids, including hundreds of items divided on an ability basis.

*Latin American Belles-Lettres in English Translation*, Hispanic Foundation, Washington, D. C. A list of recognized South American literature available in English translation. Annotated.

*The Other Americas through Films and Records*, the American Council on Education, Washington, D. C. A list of available, authentic films on Latin America.

*Recent Studies of Interest to Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese*, compiled by Florence Hall, Office of the Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C. (1943). Inclusive, reliable, annotated. Three hundred and sixty titles, with valuable comments, are given under the following major headings: Bibliographical Aids, Foreign-Language Teaching, Hispanic-American Literature and Culture, Inter-American Historical, Political, and Educational Questions. Distributed free by the Co-ordinator's Office.

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NOTE: The pronunciation symbols for Spanish, Portuguese, and French words indicated below are based on the diacritical marks found in Webster's *New International Dictionary*. The Castilian pronunciation is given for places in Spain and for the names of Spaniards. Otherwise, the pronunciation indicated for Spanish names follows Spanish-American usage. For example, *c* (also *z*) before *e* or *i* is pronounced like English *s*; *ll* usually like English *y*; and *x* sometimes like English *h*. The pronunciation of Brazilian names given below is based on the Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro and Portugal. In addition, it should be noted that for some Latin-American names there are English pronunciations which are equally acceptable and in some cases even preferable.

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